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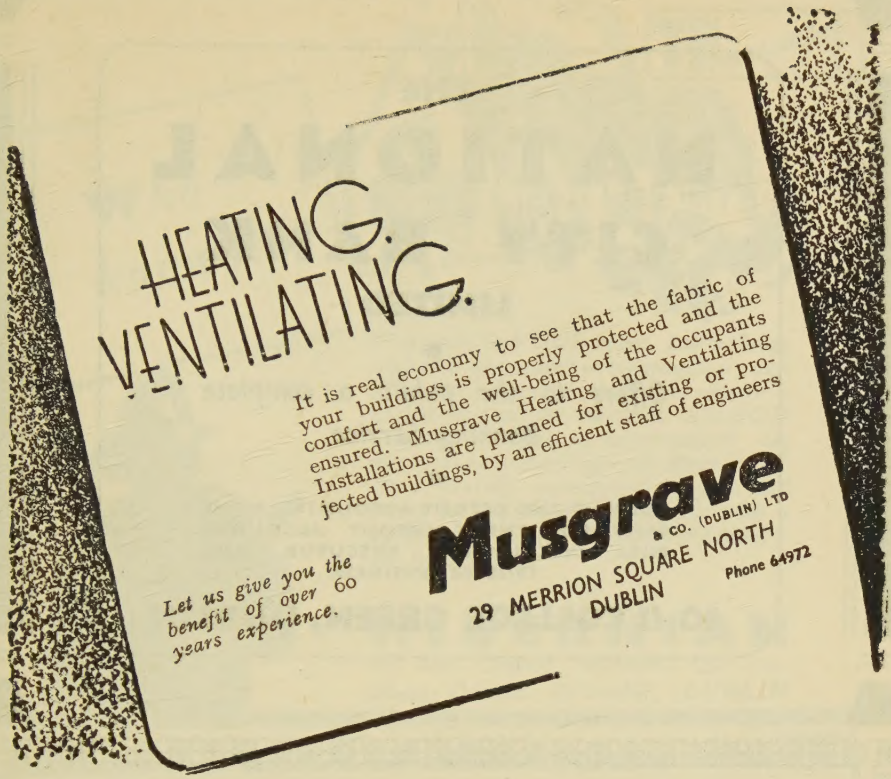
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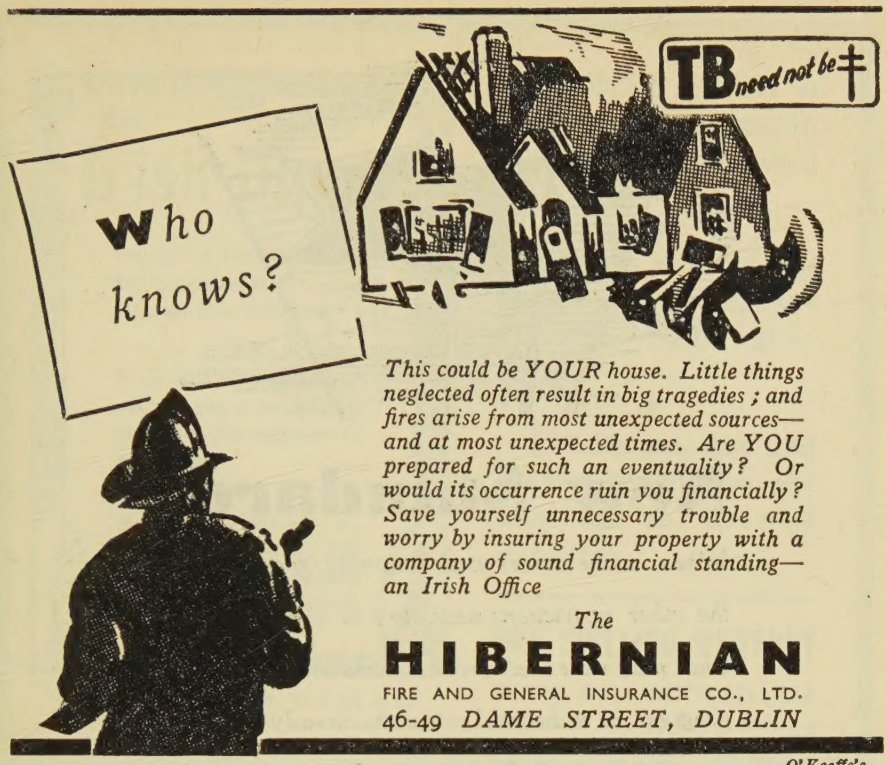

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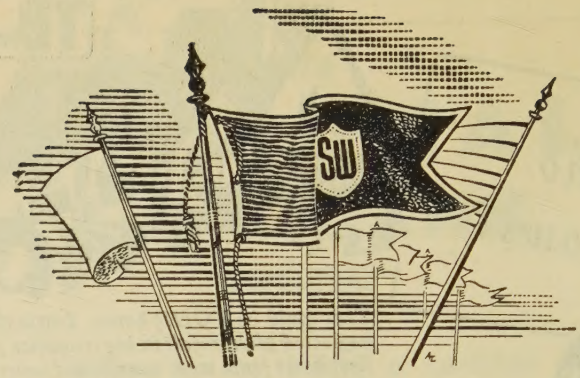

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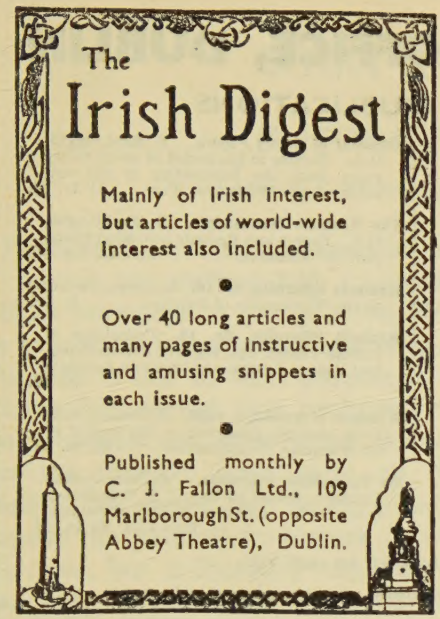
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WHAT IS MAN?

BY JOSEPH E. CANAVAN, S.J.

Professor of Theology, Milltown Park, Dublin

IF Socrates came to life again he would, perhaps, be surprised at the success his method had achieved, though the answers given often enough nowadays to the question, What is Man? would not meet with his approval: for now, more perhaps than ever before, men ask anxiously who man is and to what purpose is he born. In the Middle Ages the Church had solved that problem; so the mediaeval man talked less about himself and more about the rest of the universe, since he held that the intellect could seize all being—intellectus est quodammodo omnia. No doubt, too, he stretched outwards to indulge his interests because the political framework in which he moved fitted—imperfectly, it is true, but deliberately—the cast of his thoughts on the meaning of man and of his destiny. "It is the King's business," Charlemagne wrote to Pope Leo III, "to defend the Holy Church of God outwardly with arms and inwardly to maintain the Catholic Faith; and it is the business of the Holy Father to support the royal work with his prayers." His emissaries bore letters of credence in this form: "We have been sent here by our lord, the Emperor Charles, for your eternal salvation, and we charge you to live virtuously according to the law of God and justly according to the law of the world." "In the Middle Ages," writes Christopher Dawson, "it could really be said that the State was in the Church. The latter was the primary and fundamental social reality, and the State was merely a subordinate institution charged with the office of preserving peace and order".[1] The Mediaeval Church was a true Kingdom to which the Empire was attached as a kind of vassal, the two making a facsimile of St. Augustine's City of God; and in that settled order the mediaeval man found much to do besides questioning himself endlessly about the meaning of his life or mistrusting his hopes, undefeated as yet, since the Church and the State itself had given the decisive answer to the problems which so vex modern men.

I

Nowadays, however, the civilisation man has made is failing, its culture lacks assurance, the very framework surrounding it is dissolving; and, like shareholders who hardly ever attend the annual meeting of the company so long as dividends are regular and fat, but assert themselves and ask questions when dividends fall or cease, modern men are asking why the hopes they cherished and the promises they believed are being so patently

[1] *Mediaeval Religion*, p. 26.

belied. Have we been right in our outlook? For whose benefit are we constructing a world? How are we to know what is good for man? And anyhow, what is man?

However we may define man at the end of our inquiry about him, one characteristic of his all admit and must admit: viz., that he is a continuing animal vividly aware of the past, impelled by an imperious instinct to propagate his kind and to endow his posterity with the chance of enjoying life as abundantly, or even more abundantly, than those who live and work in the present. If we ignore or deny or deride this instinct, we destroy something essential in the being we call man.

Now, whatever continues is imperfect at any given moment of the process of change; for what is on the point of becoming something different from what it is, even if the change be in the order of accident, is perfect or fulfilled only in a relative sense. Moreover, all movement or change is movement towards a term; and until the terms or ends are disengaged, we cannot distinguish one movement from another.

Starting then from the fact that man is continuing or contingent, we may expect different answers to the question What is Man? according to the various universes of discourse in which we speak. We may reply that man, by definition, is a being composed of body and soul and therefore imperfect, because only the simple can be perfect; that actually he is a person subsisting in a rational composite nature; that he has certain properties, intellect and will, which emanate from his nature. We may deduce from any one of these descriptions that man is physically free in certain circumstances to take or refuse objects proposed to him for choice. And when we have shown that a self-existent Being must be if contingent beings are, we can demonstrate the existence of a moral law which determines the morality of free acts and gives to the deliberate quest of good the attributes of right and wrong. Or again, when we have shown that man is a creature, we may ask what are the actual relations between him and his Creator. Before we can reply to that question, we shall have to inquire whether or not God has set up an order in which our relations with Him are closer and more filial than our reason, left to itself, could discover: in other words, we shall have to investigate the fact and the content of revelation. Thus the Catholic would fill out the philosophical descriptions of man by adding that he is a theological animal elevated by grace to a supernatural life and destiny far beyond his natural powers to know or deserve. He would have to expand the philosopher's definition and say with St. Cyril of Jerusalem that man is composed of body, soul and the Holy Ghost.

As a rule most men are chiefly interested in the ethical problem, In what does man's good consist? For what purpose was he given life and what rules must he keep to fulfil his destiny, if we can find out what it is? This is the practical question which teases the mind much more

than speculative problems about the nature of man—though, in point of fact, the practical solution depends upon the theoretical answers. Or we may say that the cultural problem is for most men the most urgent, if by culture we mean a diffused wisdom expressing itself in ethics, art, politics, economics, education, international law, the Church and the State.

The mediaeval man would have answered these questions pat—at least in the broad. The modern man has at best opinions, and, at the worst, doubts whether such questions can be answered at all. Where the cultured man of the 12th or 13th century would take pride in being able to affirm and prove, the cultured man of the 20th century prides himself on denying or doubting with assurance. Something happened in the meanwhile to bring about the change. We can see the difference between them in every field of human action, not least in their cultures; for where the Middle Ages were vigorous and expansive, the men of our times are paralysed and despairing.

> Lume non è se non vien dal sereno
> Che non si turba mai

wrote Dante, certain that the light was all about him, that he could be bathed in it if he sought for it. Modern men, paralysed in the dark of their own making, doubt if there be truth anywhere; so they try, like Bertrand Russell, to stay their courage on a despairing pride. They are negative.

> Incertainty that once gave scope to dream
> Of laughing enterprise and glory untold,
> Is now a blackness that no stars redeem,
> A wall of terror in a night of cold.[1]

II

Moreover, man is something more than an individual within a species; so that no definition, however perfect, will contain all that is real in him. The definition is abstract; the existing individual is concrete. The definition states what is common to many; the person is incommunicable. As an individual he is part of a whole; as a person, a whole in himself. As an individual he thrives in an economy which establishes order in the rights and needs he shares with others, and regulates the material wealth he produces and enjoys in common; as a person he stands aloof from his fellows, with hopes, joys, sorrows, memories, regrets, peculiar to himself. As a person he pursues a good which he cannot acquire simply by co-operating with other men through the arrangement of the material world for advantages common to all. Each man, therefore, is both an imperfect being and a being that transcends experience. He has in him something

[1] Robert Bridges: *Melancholia.*

that the passing world cannot satisfy, something that participates of a transcendent Being. That is why all attempts to explain man must finally consider him in relation to a Principle which contains experience and surpasses it in perfection. Some say that the Divinity is substantially immanent in man; so that man is the expression in change of a Reality that surpasses the changes he experiences, though it does not exist outside them; the Catholic theologian teaches that the Reality which is the cause of all else, is a transcendent Being, one and infinite in nature, three in Persons; and man participates in the divine perfection because he is a person subsisting in a nature which he shares with others. And God is immanent in him most perfectly in the present order of providence through an infused supernatural accident which enables him to participate, in some mysterious way, in the divine nature. The distinction between God and man remains, though man is somehow divinised.

It is not, therefore, surprising that obstinate questionings about the nature and meaning of man terminate in theology; for, since each man's life is a metaphysic in act, each must have a scale of values in which some beauty or worth, independent of all others, is supreme. If that being is wrongly described or wrongly estimated, everything that derives from it must change both in significance and position. Philosophers know well that all their enquiries about this and that lead finally to the affirmation or the denial of God, whose nature contains within itself the reason of this universe of ascending and descending being. They know that what is true of the Godhead in its plenitude must be verified analogically in dependent beings according to the way in which they participate of being.

III

The changes which have taken place since the Middle Ages have their origin, as have all human arrangements, in the mind; and they have grown out of old theological disputes. Huss, Luther, Calvin, the Anabaptists, Descartes, are at the root of them. The changes follow the varying concepts men form for themselves of God.

Luther, tortured by concupiscence, taught that man through original sin had become wholly evil. This is Manichaeism, diluted with the hope of pardon through the imputed merits of Christ. Luther was an inverted Pelagian; for while Pelagius maintained that man could fulfil himself and attain, by his natural powers unaided by grace, the destiny marked out for him, Luther held that, though all man's actions were bad, he could, without the help of grace, cry for mercy and so acquire a forensic acquittal. Luther retained the idea of personality, but degraded the possessor of it. For Calvin each man's destiny is determined for him by an inscrutable power condemning some and saving others by an arbitrary choice for which no reasons could be assigned. At the basis of

all being was Will omnipotent and unintelligible. Calvin was a voluntarist, thus deflecting reason from inquiry about God or about the relations men can establish between themselves and God, since those relations were fixed antecedently to all human experience. Thus Calvin diverted the concern of men *to be* something to *doing* something ; and since our actions could have no effect upon our eternal destiny, we should content ourselves with insuring their success according to worldly standards, because we could apply no other intelligible test to conduct. Thus morality (if we should apply the term to what is now left of the old concept of law) became pragmatic, and self-assurance could make the best of both worlds.

Descartes, shocked by the suggestion that man was wholly evil, undertook to prove that, by his natural powers without the aid of grace, man could arrive at truth and do good. Unfortunately, his method of enquiry was defective, ending in a severance between soul and body. Man was no longer a substantial unity, but two substances co-existing side by side, the body moved as all quantified things were moved, and the soul the angel in the machine. How are their movements to be co-ordinated? How explain evil or distinguish it from good in such a theory? Descartes, feeling the difficulty, gave it up. " Instead of that speculative philosophy which is taught in the schools, we may find a practical philosophy by means of which . . . . we can . . . . render ourselves the masters and possessors of nature."[1] Thus, it seems, we fulfil our destiny, in so far as we can, by bringing the secrets of nature to light and controlling its powers, a conclusion not unlike Calvin's, except in this particular, that God will bless our efforts. " Thus," says Maritain, " instead of culture directing its proper good i.e. earthly happiness, towards eternal life, its supreme end is sought in itself, in the domination of man over matter. God becomes the guarantor of this domination."[2] God and man become a kind of mirror twins, each reflecting each, the other way round.

Thus man becomes independent because he constructs his morality from experience, instead of deducing it, as the mediaeval theologians deduced it, from the nature of God and of man. Man is now chiefly an inductive animal ; in Descartes' chaos of clear ideas the human reason surrenders its claim to the knowledge which the older philosophers called Science. That term is henceforth applied to the statistical laws which the reason is able to formulate by a process of induction from experience. God's business, it appears, is to countersign these findings. The conclusion flattered experimental science and man its fashioner and beneficiary, but it changed God into a constitutional monarch. If this trend be pushed to its extreme, it will end in deciding that man is the maker and arbiter of his destiny, whatever God may think about it. We are reminded of the notice on the Scottish inn from which the Newcastle coach started :

[1] *Discours* VI.
[2] *True Humanism*, pp. 23, 24.

" The coach will set out from the Grass Market ilka Tuesday at twa o'clock in the day, God wullin', but whether or no on Wednesday."

IV

Progressively, henceforth, the philosophers expelled God as a transcendent Being from the universe and installed Man in His place. From being a Guarantor God became an Idea and was finally ousted altogether, with man himself in the seats of the mighty. Reason dethroned itself and accepted the office of ministering to an irrational Will by asserting the independence of the Superman and finding the means to gratify his desire for power and comfort. Thus man is a being wholly independent who explains himself irrationally through his historical experience.

So far man is still regarded as a Person, disabled of intellect which becomes the servant of the Will. His disablement is really deeper, since there are no grounds in metaphysics for his claims. However, man is now supreme, each free to follow his own fancy which he called reason, subject to no law because persons are not inferior to other persons and are unable to impose laws on themselves. To avoid turmoil, the intellect, under the mandate of the Will desiring an orderly life, devised the theory of the contract according to which each one freely surrendered a part of his freedom to the State. And so man was started on the long career of surrendering something in the hopes of acquiring, in fuller measure, precisely what he has surrendered. The danger was that until x made a contract surrendering his freedom he was not presumed to have any freedom to surrender.

At this stage man surrendered much more than he realised in order to obtain a spurious certificate of freedom not only from physical but from moral necessity also. He paid the price fancying he had made a good bargain. He left out human nature and identified personality with a stream of consciousness, thus deciding for a Nominalist solution of the problem of universals and thus proposing implicitly a theory of the universe. Man was atomised. Reason was superseded ; the whole supernatural order out of which had come the secular heritage he had received was discarded as worthless ; supernatural religion was held to be fraudulent and the Church an interloper claiming a mandate from a source outside man, with no standing in contract ; the State, the most powerful thing man could devise, divested of the authority proper to it, was supplied with the means to exercise its power only if it suited the wealthier members of the aggregate to allow it the exercise.

This view of man left the field open to the moneyed people, who took what they found useful to their purpose from Calvinistic determinism and Rousseau's Social Contract. The common man was defenceless against money and the philosophy which told him what he was, just one of an aggregate with no rights until he had come to an arrangement with

another person in the community. Each one was by definition a private person, *sui juris*, if not of independent means at least of independent choices. Unfortunately, one cannot be a person unless one has a rational nature common to all other persons of the same kind. Through possessing a perfection common to all, each man is, willy-nilly, a public as well as a private thing. But this rationalism allied now with Romanticism, abolished the Public Thing all along the line. God was no longer a Public Person but a private acquaintance only: conscience ceased to be a public Governor and became a private idiosyncrasy. The result was disastrous, because when one removes what is common one leaves no ground for the particular. The Cheshire Cat must have been somewhere and behaved like other cats, even if it could grin as a private accomplishment.

Darwin next bowed man or what was left of him off the stage. It became fashionable to hold that man issued from the animal without any metaphysical discontinuity. The theory, resting on the surrenders which had already been made, satisfied an instinct and a vogue—the instinct to be a continuing being and the vogue to acclaim only a mechanical explanation of reality. Evolutionary theory held out the chance of connecting the phenomena of life and of mechanics, for " natural selection " was a kind of mechanical factor. The theory, though it may have simplified the problem of man, did not flatter him, nor safeguard his freedom, nor forestall attack upon his personality.

There was much talk at this time of man, the evolved animal, achieving happiness or fullness of being, through free trade, free money, free religion, free parliaments, and free morals—as if all that makes sense. For, if freedom does not reside in the will, if the intellect cannot discover the truth and regulate the will by setting up the passionless rule of reason which we call law, then the attribute of freedom applied to other things in themselves not free is nothing more than an accessory without a fact.

V

However, Rationalism, Romanticism and Naturalism, which had ushered in the reign of ruthless individualism in industry and commerce, sowed the seeds of discontent; and the evolutionary theory helped to force the seeds into foliage and bloom. Business men, their conscience deadened by a theory of contract, might make astonishing profits out of low wages, long hours, bad housing and a free labour market, but the next generation would produce less and the nation would not be the gainer. The contractual industrialists and commercialists drained the health and brutalised the character of the community, the real wealth of a continuing society. They made instead, by their policy and system, a collection of weak and resentful people, for the most part without prosperity, social cohesion or religion. They impoverished the community not only by robbing man of his spiritual endowment, but they wasted the earth

and the human stock. The law of diminishing returns began to make itself felt. The promise of happiness in the long was belied by misery in the short run. The Nominalist view of man, which ignored what was common to all the members of the species and left him as a person unrelated to other persons, was evidently defective.

The Victorians, in the heyday of out-and-out Individualism, had played with the Evolutionary theory. Now, in the hands of Marx, the Evolutionary theory, applied ruthlessy to the society which was emerging, became a weapon. Marx saw that man somehow continued and presumed that he was meant to continue. He outdid Pelagius, because he denied God's existence. God was a myth : in His place Marx put Humanity driven by a blind impersonal force to realise its aim on earth by amassing and distributing economic wealth equally to the individuals to whom the force is applied. God disappears ; persons disappear ; an economic animal remains recognisable by his overalls as the authentic heir of the past, the master of the present and the fashioner of the future. What matters is the Collection and the State which is the visible embodiment of it. Thus Marx carried Nominalism to its ultimate negation, and turned a collection into a substance. The pagan gods were persons, often disreputable ; the communist god is a force immanent in an animal.

This view of man and God despises both. It is an inverted Pragmatism : for to the Pragmatist that was true which worked ; to the communist truth may well be the error that keeps the mob on the move at its appointed tasks.

VI

Bergson next gave the *coup de grâce* to Scientism, to the claim that Science, in the narrow sense of the word, could account adequately for all reality. Keeping close to experience, but analysing it more carefully and penetrating deeper into its texture, Bergson saw that the cosmic sequence of events was continuous ; that, in consequence, the mathematical conceptualisation of it shattered the continuum, thus destroying what it explained. Feeling that the ultimate reality must be a substance, Bergson devised the theory of Creative Evolution, which is an error on a deeper plane still ; for the intellect, in trying to make the world intelligible thus, contradicts the laws of thought. If the only substantial reality is time or the flux in time, nothing ever is but everything is becoming ; and man fulfils his destiny when he hands on the torch of life to his children and his children's children within the infinite unfolding of Time.

It is, indeed, difficult to understand how materialistic Monism so explicit as this could find in itself a subject to contain the mysterious energy of creation. Besides that, Pantheism must deny the principles of Contradiction and of Identity, and concede that its ultimate reality is specifically one and specifically many at the same time, verifying con-

tradictory attributes simultaneously within the same formal concept. Creative Evolution is a riot of contradiction and negation; for in it nothing is, neither God nor man.

Bergson did not wish to be a Pantheist. Perhaps his writings were directed against particular authors—against Spinoza, Kant and the exponents of Scientism—rather than an attempt to establish a comprehensive theory of the universe. When he had refuted them by showing how they had misinterpreted experience, Bergson may have felt that he had achieved his immediate purpose. Perhaps no book of his tells us all he really thought, for as he wrote he began to change his views. Before he died, Bergson came to a conclusion which contradicted Spinoza, Kant, Scientism and Creative Evolution: he gave his assent to the existence of a Personal and Transcendant God, an assent based, as all his assents were, upon experience—now at last upon the experience of the Catholic mystics.

VII

To-day, among those who speak in the name of wisdom, many hold that man is an animal with certain instincts forced into action by a power at once within him and transcending him; that he cannot properly be defined; that he can never hope to reach to objective truth; that he is not responsible in any true sense; that he has no rights, only permissions conceded by the State or by the clique which has seized power within the State; that he is not a person. The collective animal, like Homer's Orion, a hunter of shadows and himself a shade, vanishes at last into the collective security of Nirvana. For him, as for Mr. Hardy, "the world is one long lane that leads to an eternal booby-trap." Thus he gets the worst of two worlds at the price of both. The irony of the Greek tragedians has justified itself as the penalty of pagan arrogance.

During all this time those who spoke thus for man and protested that they were trying to liberate his spirit, boasted of the progress he was making under their tuition; only progress was not an approach to an end which they clearly saw, but a departure from a point. That point was Christendom. The Renaissance was an age of progress because it was at one remove from the Catholic outlook; we in the 20th century may congratulate ourselves on the progress we have made because we are many removes from it. This illusion probably explains what Catholics have found hard to understand: why, though there was widespread intellectual despair in the German sense of the word, through the destruction of certainty by doubt, by the unending process of adding negation to negation, yet the destroyers were always optimistic. Things would inevitably improve, for that was the iron law of Evolution. The two great wars have shaken men out of their complacency, so that despair has now overflowed from the mind into the mood; so the common man, an unsophis-

ticated, inarticulate person who needs someone to explain him to himself, may be ready now to fall into the humour of dismissing his advisers and taking on others. Perhaps the supreme danger of our time is the deliberate control of births. The flood of negation has reached the roots of life; the stream of Heraclitus is drowning man as it deepens. Because at last the Person has been affronted and stripped of his worth and dignity, he is refusing to pass children on to a dishonourable experience. The final negation is the negation of life. The formative guidance given to man for the past three centuries has left him naked, defenceless, frightened, *spoliatus gratuitis, vulneratus naturalibus* much more thoroughly by his mentors than by Original Sin. So why transmit his misery?

As on the old pagan world, so on ours disgust and secret loathing have fallen. And as the Catholic Faith found then in the widespread despair an occasion of grace, so the Faith to-day should wrestle boldly with a like opportunity. The disorder in the world has shown man that, however he may strive to develop his culture, refine his knowledge and his manners, adjust his political and economic framework to his demands for comfort, control the forces of nature for his material advantage, he can never attain to more than a partial fulfilment of himself here and now. The world and all its beauty cannot round off his destiny. And if he ever fancied it could, disappointment has frozen the hope in him.

Disappointment is only the occasion of leading men to look in another direction for the truth. Catholics should not overplay the opening which gives truth the chance of entry and thus allow outsiders to say that the Church endeavours to do little more than make men manageable while they pass through the world. It is dangerous to peddle Catholic doctrine as if it were an insurance policy against the ills of life. To those who look to revolution as the only way to right quickly the wrongs of human systems, Catholic doctrine if presented thus will seem reactionary and the Church look like an apothecary supplying narcotics only. What the world needs from Catholics is not a pedestrian morality—for many other creeds can formulate similar rules for daily conduct—but a full, fearless account of our creed in its depth and force. The Catholic Faith must win its way because it is true.

VIII

We know that man is a creature made by God in His image, imperfect, weakened but not stunted by Original Sin, redeemed by Jesus Christ, re-made and divinised by grace, called to a supernatural beatitude which he may attain through the possession of the theological virtues of faith, hope and charity, and the observance of the moral law. He is a person, responsible and immortal, as such not part of any whole inferior to the Mystical Body of Christ.

His institutions should conform as closely as possible to his faith,

so that they may support it and not run counter to its content and spirit. This does not mean that the Catholic should strive to set up the Kingdom of God on earth through political and economic arrangements, for the Kingdom of God on earth is the Church alone. But it does mean that he should strive to *be* something before he *does* anything; and what he judges he ought to be depends on his idea of what he is and what kind of association can be established between himself and God. It means that when he addresses himself to reform the world through secular means he will know why some which suggest themselves are on the right lines and others on the wrong.

Between the Church, the Body of Christ, and the State, there should be a union so close that together they make up the body corporate. This presupposes that the *potior et sanior pars* of the people are Christian, and that they accept one moral code as the rule of all their actions. As both the State and the Church are perfect societies, competent in their own spheres, the Church always having the primacy, it is inevitable that there should be tension, for tension is the law of life and the spur to effort, but there need not be quarrels. Each man would have a dual allegiance; and it is impossible to avoid strain between them on occasion. In fact, this tension is the sign of vigorous life in both domains and a mark distinguishing the Catholic Church from pagan society and from National Churches which easily become subordinate to the policy of the State. " The mediaeval man," writes Roger Lloyd, " was busily engaged in building up a civilisation, and a social structure to contain and express it, which should be characteristically his own. . . . The backbone of the whole enterprise was to find the harmony or the creative level of tension, between the religious and secular interests of life, and to create the functional structure of society which alone could provide a truly satisfying background for men and women far more conscious of their relationship to God than of their relationship to their own space-time world."[1] That is the task of Catholic Action.

If ideas are to be effective they must be incorporated in institutions and laws, supporting and supported by the daily discipline of life. The ideas must become incarnate, in the last resort, in persons, in every member of the community, if that be possible. Catholics need not argue painfully to the formative ideas, since the Logos, the principle of all order, beauty, reason, grace, Himself a Person, has become incarnate and has revealed the mind of God. The Church is His body, distinct from Him but not separate, informed by His mind and charged with the duty of explaining to each passing generation His doctrine about the worth and dignity of man. She is the key-stone of the arch that spans the distance between God and man; so that, if she be removed, the gap between the terms becomes almost infinite, man loses his perspective,

[1] *The Golden Middle Age*, p. 3.

and degenerates into an animal indistinguishable from the other animals on the earth. " Whenever another religion than ours has been practised," writes Joseph de Maistre, " slavery has been the rule."

Outside Christianity there is no clear concept of the Person, not even in Plato or Aristotle. Christian philosophy alone has been able to understand what a human person is and to safeguard him. And Christian philosophy takes account, in its findings, of the dogmas of the Church : that reserve and circumspection have kept it from error.

IX

All seem to admit that civilisation in the West is decaying because man has been distorted, frustrated and degraded. Nevertheless, Spengler's opinion that all civilisations are subject to a common law of decay, that once decayed they can never return, is simply not true as it stands. It does not take account of the Church, that nurse and mother of civilisation, which will last until the end of time and mould men unceasingly to its purposes. Modern pagan man has a sense of tradition—overlaid, it is true, by a false philosophy now declared bankrupt. Perhaps there is a good deal of nostalgia in his pessimism. Just because he cannot ignore his Christian past he dislikes the Catholic Church, for it is the illustrious past rebuking his vagaries with an insistent voice.

A return to her obedience and communion would give back to man the values he has lost ; would give him a scale of values ; would mark out an end for his striving, which he could attain with the help provided ; so that, though he might be imperfect in spite of his efforts when compared with this ideal, he would not feel stunted nor debased ; would set him as a person with rights and duties transcending the shadows of temporal change ; and, curiously enough, would endow him even with freedom of enquiry—for a responsible person is most free to speculate without the numbing fear of consequences if he knows that a competent authority will judge fairly and unerringly what may be permitted and what disallowed in his opinions, thus assisting him to reach the " creative level of tension ". In the Church's experience he will find the truth that he is a person, confirmed in the mystical union with God which many of her saints have enjoyed, because the mystic is raised above the law that the individual and the species must take account of each other : in that privilege the crowning grace and perfection of personality are revealed and sealed.

The one remaining hope for mankind to esteem itself correctly, lies in return to the unity of doctrine and of government under the Bishop of Rome, which is the Catholic Church. She preserves the wisdom committed to her by Jesus Christ, evolved through her tradition by Councils, Doctors, Saints, Martyrs, Mystics, and applied wisely and kindly to the changing contours of secular life.

J. E. Canavan

SLUM CLEARANCE: PAST AND FUTURE

BY PROFESSOR T. W. T. DILLON, M.D.

THE publication of the Housing Report[1] provides a suitable opportunity of discussing that municipal shame, the Dublin slums. Their history is detailed, not for the first time, in this Report; and the melancholy conclusion is reached that conditions in these fetid tenements have hardly improved since 1913. A more surprising result of this inquiry is that the number of families still condemned to live in conditions which are often quite unsuitable for cattle, much less human beings, has increased since 1913—from 25,822 families in 1913 to 28,210 families in 1938. Some 23,000 families in 1938 still lived in one room tenements; and of these 9,117 families consisted of four or more persons, a total of 49,776 persons and an increase of 3,000 over the 1911 number. It is difficult to believe that the general public has ever fully grasped the implications of these figures. Yet the facts have been published in words and pictures often enough to make the position clear. One gets the impression of a widespread disinclination to accept the published descriptions as fully representative of the tenements as a whole. Yet those who are most familiar with the detail of slum dwellings in all the city districts are agreed that the pattern of dirt, decay and discomfort is everywhere the same. The filthy yard with the unspeakable closet often choked, always foul-smelling, serving the needs of all the families in the house; the single tap, often situated in the basement or even in this foul-smelling yard; the cracked and crumbling walls and ceiling covered with scabrous peeling paper or blistered paint; the leaking roofs and rat-infested floors. There are differences in detail, but in general a drab and disgusting uniformity is unrelieved by any sign of human dignity.

Not that the families who try to live in these sordid rat-holes are without human dignity. Nothing is more striking than the courage and patience with which they take on, one generation after another, the burden of building up a decent Christian life in such hopeless surroundings. But they do not all succeed. There is in Dublin a growing population of Christians who have not succeeded in resisting the horrible pressure of rats, filth and overcrowding, and who are losing, generation by generation, their traditional standards of human decency. Everything is against them when they have sunk to a certain depth. They are the last to be employed, the first to be discharged when work gets scarce. Their young sons and daughters leave school at 14 in a state of incredible ignorance. They have no chance of employment in a steady trade; dressed in rags, inarticulate, dirty and often dishonest they drift into the street corner gangs which

[1] *Report of Inquiry into the Housing of the Working Classes of the City of Dublin* 1939–43. (Stationery Office, 1944. 3s. 6d.)

are the despair of social workers and the concern of the police. This class of social pariahs, existing on inadequate relief and the weekly sums collected from a variety of charitable societies, is still a small minority of the Dublin poor. But they already constitute a social danger which might easily grow to uncontrollable dimensions.

Before we pass on to consider the present system which has now operated for some fifteen years, it may be well to raise and dispose of one question that has long puzzled everyone acquainted with the true state of the tenements. Why, it has been asked again and again, has the Municipality allowed the tenement owners to maintain their property in a condition obviously unfit for human occupation. This question was asked in the year 1914 by a Departmental Committee and answered in these terms taken from the Report of that Committee published in 1914: "The owners of the tenement houses were not stringently compelled to keep them in a clean and sanitary condition. The regulations regarding overcrowding had not been stringently applied." The Committee recommended that the tenements and small houses which had been stated by the sanitary staff to be unfit for human habitation, should as a first step be absolutely cleared away. That was in 1914.

After the European War and our Civil War, the new Irish state installed Commissioners in Dublin with full powers to apply the existing stringent bye-laws. But for some unexplained reason they refrained from enforcing those which related to tenements. When the Commissioners withdrew, the Council was provided with a Manager who became responsible for the enforcement of these bye-laws and for the application of the increased powers conferred on Municipalities by the Housing Act of 1932. In 1938 a survey of the Dublin tenements was carried out by the Municipality. They found that 60% (6,554 of 11,039) of tenements and cottages inspected were unfit for human occupation. 64,940 persons were living in these condemned dwellings at the date of the survey—*i.e.* 1938. The figures speak for themselves; there is no need of further proof that the picture drawn above is substantially true.

But the question so often asked still remains unanswered. The Corporation puts forward one plea only in explanation of such obvious and surely culpable neglect. They maintain that enforcement of the provisions for closing such tenements or cottages or reconditioning them at the owner's expense, would cause intolerable hardship to the tenants, since there is no alternative accommodation. This feeble excuse, which has been advanced again and again over the last fifty years, was never impressive. It has lost all claim to validity since the Corporation embarked itself on a most successful campaign of reconditioning in Lower Gardiner St. This experiment, which is a triumphant success and deserves unstinted praise, underlines both the futility of the long delay and the economic waste involved in putting off from year to year work that became more

necessary every day. Now it is costing the citizens from 2 to 3 times what it would have cost in 1932 when it was declared to be impossible and uneconomic. The delay has already cost, in misery and ill-health, untold suffering and humiliation.

The finances of the municipal rehousing schemes are also the subject of criticism. The Citizen's Housing Council,[1] in their report published in 1938, pointed out that the solution of the housing problem on the financial lines then in force would be impossible. " It is impossible," they said, " to borrow money at current rates, clear slum sites, rebuild and let the new flats, or build dwellings in the suburbs and provide transport, and then pay the interest on the loan out of the rents. It can't be done." The report goes on to suggest that a special " slum clearing tax " should be imposed and that rating of site value should be adopted, so as to provide the bulk of the necessary money on a non-interest basis.

The Housing Commission comes to substantially similar conclusions in 1943. They point out, in an elaborate analysis of housing finance in Dublin, that the total loan charges on each slum clearance flat represent 75% of the economic rent. Money was raised at an average rate of $4\frac{1}{4}\%$ during the period of greatest housing activity, *i.e.* since 1932, and the arrangements for repayment by annuity contemplated complete liquidation of the loan in 35 years. The calculated life of a flat is 200 years and of a house 100 years.[2] By arranging for a period of repayment so short as 35 years, the present cost of housing is increased and the economic rent is grossly inflated. The Commission recommends two very modest reforms in this extravagant financial procedure : that the Municipality be empowered to borrow money at 3% under the Local Loans Act ; and that the period of repayment be extended to 60 years. These mild and conservative proposals would reduce the economic rent necessary to cover all charges by some 25% and would result in an annual saving to the Corporation of £167,646. If the repayment period were extended to 80 years—*i.e.* half the average life of flats and cottages combined—the deficit which falls to the Municipality would approach vanishing point.

The responsibility for the present arrangements, which are involving the ratepayers in the wholly unnecessary annual expenditure of this large sum, must be shared between the Municipality and the State. But the refusal of the Municipality to apply the system of differential renting recommended by the Citizen's Housing Council has caused an undetermined waste of the most useless kind which is strictly its own responsibility. The waste involved in this refusal to apply differential renting is best illustrated by an anlaysis of family incomes from the Housing Commission report. Six thousand families were rehoused by the

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[1] *Report on Slum Clearance in Dublin.* (Citizen's Housing Council, 1938.)

[2] This is taken from the evidence supplied by the City Housing Architect to the Commission.

Corporation during the period 1934–39. Of these six thousand families some 3,800 (63%) had incomes from £3 to £5 and over. When we turn, however, to the sample of 10,500 families taken at random from the Corporation's survey of 33,411 slum families, we find that only 3,500 families (33%) were in the higher income brackets.[1] It is evident from these figures that the Municipality have concentrated on families in the higher income brackets for the new settlements. Each tenant receives a rent subsidy of £43 16s. 10d. per year (16s. 10d. per week) for a flat and £16 2s. 4d. per year (6s. 2d. per week) for a four room cottage. In the flat the family pays only 37% of the full economic rent; in the four-room cottage 68·9% of the economic rent. The balance is the subsidy which is shared by the State and the Municipality. Let us now consider a typical family: father and mother and five children, who obtained one of these cottages in 1937. The family income at that time was £3 per week, and the subsidy was certainly needed. Indeed it was a hard struggle to feed and clothe the children, pay bus fares and meet the rent. Now in 1943 the family income has gone up to £10 per week and is rising every year. Of course there will come a time when one after another these young men and women will move out of the home into a tenement room to get married. The family income will then drop, but so will the family expenses. Yet all the time the Municipality is paying out an unwanted subsidy to people who would much prefer to pay the full rent. There are many such cases. All the money spent in subsidising their rents is pure antisocial waste.

Take another case known to me. A skilled tradesman in good business with three children moves into one of these houses in 1935 with a rising income as a small scale contractor. He needs no subsidy, but he must accept one. He falls ill in 1938 and is laid up for six months. When he is able to pick up the threads again his wife and children are starving, his furniture is pawned, his clientele is lost and he must start all over again. His family now consists of six persons; there is a young baby. The rent goes into arrears; his wife falls ill. After a preliminary notice from the Corporation, he gives in and moves out with the few pitiable pieces of furniture left into a fearful slum room where sunlight never enters. There they live now in semi-darkness, never quite well, without any hope for the future and full of regrets for the past; he is forty, she is thirty-five.

These are authentic stories. But there are thousands of people in the same or similar position. This lunatic system of forcing a rent subsidy on those who do not want it and refusing to increase the subsidy when the need is bitter is without any basis in reason or justice. But it may be

[1] It is a grim commentary on our social conditions that some 20,000 Dublin families have incomes below £3 per week. It becomes grimmer when we read that 4 out of every 10 families with less than £3 per week contained 4 or more persons.

said : You forget that the relieving officers now make a rent allowance in such cases. I do not forget it. It is one of the most revolting aspects of our relief system. The amount of relief given to these people is calculated with a nice precision to provide rather less than would be necessary to feed the family adequately, without any allowance for clothing or for any of the thousand and one things which any housewife must buy every year.

To this is added a rent allowance which is constantly in danger of being swallowed up in the gulf of pressing needs. Naturally the family prefers to pay less rent in a slum room to a rackrenting landlord, than to pay more rent to the Municipality. But note the interesting consequence. The Municipality pays the rackrenters *via* a rent allowance.

Never in the history of the slums have the worst landlords had a gayer time. The pressure on their rooms is immense. They have no difficulty in finding tenants. Therefore they can evict for arrears with a light heart, if this becomes necessary. But it rarely is necessary in the bright new world of rent allowances. When they have allowed the tenant to accumulate sufficient arrears, brought him to Court and registered an order that the arrears shall be paid off by weekly instalments, which means in effect that the tenant's rent is raised by 1s. per week for the same disgusting accommodation ; then the fun begins. The tenant now knows that he must pay or quit. But he may not be able to pay without letting his children go hungry. Very well then, the landlord is a " decent man," he will not be hard on him. But perhaps the missus would wash down the house once a week or the man himself would clean out the loathsome lavatory ; or, even more agreeable, would he collect the rent for his amiable landlord ?

Here are two examples of this smooth technique of rent slavery. A single man, deformed and a bit " queer," lived in a closet, about 8 feet by 6 with no furniture other than a bedstead without mattress or blankets and a box. He enjoyed these amenities free of charge and received an odd half-crown for four hours work a day cleaning out all the lavatories in six of the foulest tenements in Dublin. Another case : this time a skilled tradesman fallen on hard times through illness and misfortune. He collected rents for the landlord, and carried out the minimum of unavoidable repairs in the same block of houses at the rate of about £1 10s. per week. Most of the tenants contrive by hook or by crook, by semi-starvation and appeals to charity to pay the rent at all costs rather than fall into the power of these ruthless men.

There are indeed still some human slum landlords. There are still a few who keep their property in good repair, do not press their tenants for impossible arrears, and content themselves with a very small profit in good times. But they are a dwindling minority now. Some twenty years ago, most of them sold out, and it is common knowledge that they thought themselves lucky if they got five years purchase on their rentals. The

purchasers have waxed fat these twenty years on a rich harvest of rack-rents. It is the old story. The bad landlords survive the longest. Whoever starves it will not be their funeral. Yet any time this twenty years past they could have been bought out at a fair valuation to the great profit of the State, the Municipality and the tenants. If that had been done, the ratepayers would have been saved thousands of pounds every year, since the rent subsidies would have passed from their right hand pocket into the left hand one instead of into the deposit account of the professional slum landlord.

When the Citizen's Housing Council recommended in 1938 differential renting and pointed out that the system had long been in operation in English towns and had, in recent years, been most successful in Cork, they were met with the rejoinder that it would not work in Dublin. It has not been tried in Dublin. Therefore there is no evidence that it would not work. In Cork it has worked most satisfactorily since 1934 and now applies to almost half the municipally-owned houses in that city. The Cork Manager stated, in evidence to the Housing Commission, that all the usual objections were raised when the matter was first mooted. " People would not agree to pay 8s. for a house for which their neighbours were paying 4s.; it would lead to spying on one another by the tenants and the writing of anonymous letters. None of the theoretical objections were realised in practice. No difficulties of administration occurred and no marked increase of staff was required." The Housing Commission endorses the view of the Citizen's Housing Council that it should be tried in Dublin. Perhaps after all it will be tried and will work here as it has worked everywhere else.

But the waste under the heads set out above is by no means the whole story. Under the conditions governing the grant of a subsidy by the State, the Municipality were entitled to a much greater grant towards the cost of rehousing tenants under slum clearance projects. This was a very wise provision, clearly intended to enable the city authorities to begin at the bottom and work up. An analysis of the allocations of new dwellings since the 1932 Act reveals that only 1,882 (25%) out of 7,611 dwellings qualified for the larger subsidy. This was due to the fact that rent-paying capacity was held to be the principal criterion of allocation, and very naturally those inhabiting the vilest slums had the lowest family income. This inexplicable decision cost the ratepayers the respectable sum of £40,000 per annum, equivalent to a rate of 5d. in the pound on the rates, out of a total rate of 11d. paid on housing account. When we consider that this same decision to make rent-paying capacity the determining factor was also responsible for pressing unwanted rent subsidies on families well able to pay the full economic rent, the full absurdity of the whole housing plan becomes clear. There are many other minor causes of unnecessary waste and human frustration which are fully set out

in this report, but we may well pass on to consider very briefly the brighter side.

Some 7,000 dwellings have been built, and this is undoubtedly a great achievement. Indeed the camparison with 24 English and Scotch cities shows that only one, Glasgow, built more houses than Dublin in the year 1935–36, and none paid a higher rate contribution on housing account. Furthermore, when the Citizen's Housing Council inspected the Dublin new settlements and compared them with the best that London and Vienna had to show, they were agreed that our houses and flats were quite as good and, in many respects, better than those examined elsewhere. The Housing Architect's Department has done a magnificent job, and the crown has been set on his labours by the demonstration that the beautiful old Georgian houses on the North Side can be restored to their dignity and made to serve the human needs of families without disfiguring them inside and out. If we had any municipal pride, we should make pilgrimages to Lower Gardiner Street and presentations to the saviour of so much beauty.

But all my sympathy goes out to the City Architect for the cramping regulations which have prevented him from doing what, I am quite sure, he could have done so well—planning a neighbourhood with all its necessary amenities instead of building row upon row of houses. The new settlements in Crumlin and Drimnagh are without any of the essential social amenities. There are no parks, no playing fields, no town halls. No schools were provided at first. When after several years the schools were at last put up, it was found that accommodation was grossly insufficient for the number of children. The same mistake and for the same reason has been made in Drimnagh only last year. Experience does not teach our Municipality anything.

The reason for this enormous surplus of children is very simple. The houses were allotted to those families with the greatest number of children. The result of course was to produce a population wholly abnormal in composition with an immense temporary surplus of young children. This gross mistake was analysed in the Citizen's Housing Council Report, where it was pointed out that in 10–15 years time there would inevitably be a reduced number of children unless the allocations made provision for a normal number of young married people. Furthermore these children will grow up. There are no factories, no technical schools, no secondary schools, no football grounds for them. The only possible result must be a great increase in street gangs and juvenile crime. This harvest is now in process of reaping. A fine police barracks has been provided to control the unruly crowds of workless adolescents.

To make matters worse the Municipality decided at an early stage that persons suffering from active pulmonary tuberculosis should have a high priority on the list of allocations. These unfortunate people were sprinkled at random throughout a community of babies, young children

and adolescents, when they were at their most infective stage and their unfortunate young neighbours at the most susceptible period of their lives. No tuberculosis dispensary, no hospital, not even a district nurse at first, were provided to mitigate this evil. It need hardly be said that the authorities provided no church, and demanded a high price for the only available site.

This article is a gloomy one. Yet I have not touched on half the problems which are still unsolved. The Housing Commission estimates that we need 21,315 dwellings to overtake arrears and 1,590 annual replacements to meet current needs arising from obsolescence and growth in the number of families. The Report makes a detailed and most competent analysis of cost factors, allocation priorities and many other minor problems including the provision of the necessary social amenities on a minimum scale. It is packed with information, and should certainly be read and carefully studied by everyone who is burdened with a social conscience. It is moderate and conservative, but politely emphatic that the present plan is inadequate, unbalanced and grossly insufficient.

The Citizen's Housing Council[1] recommended in 1938 that a statutory housing Board should be considered as the best means of solving, co-relating and ultimately controlling the problem. The City Manager, the Council pointed out, has an amount of current business on his hands which makes it quite impossible for him to devote the necessary time to planning. His staff are overworked and subjected to a constant strain, which must make all scientific examination of these desperately complex social problems almost impossible. The case is surely complete for creating such a body, and there is no time to be lost before the post-war rush of urgent re-construction engulfs us again.

If we all learn by our mistakes, there is yet time to put many of them right. They are not irremediable. If we shrug our shoulders and ' mind our own business,' we shall live to regret bitterly the lost opportunities which will never come our way again.

T. W. T. Dillon

[1] It is a strange feature of the Housing Commission's Report that it contains no acknowledgment of the work done by the Citizen's Housing Council, although it is in complete agreement with almost all the recommendations of that Council's Report.

LIFE AND WORK OF WILLIAM K. SULLIVAN

BY T. S. WHEELER, D.SC.

State Chemist.

WILLIAM KIRBY SULLIVAN was born between 1820 and 1825[1] near Dripsey, fourteen miles from Cork, where his father, James Bartholomew Sullivan, owned a paper mill employing, it is said, 400 people.[2] Giving evidence in 1885 before a House of Commons Committee on Irish Industries, Sullivan stated (Committee evidence, p. 5) that his father was probably " the first to introduce the paper machine into Ireland. The place was set fire to when I was a young fellow, and I remember the fire distinctly." The fire was the protest of the workers to the introduction of machinery. The newspapers of the day, in the sketch of his life, after his death, stated that Sullivan had been rescued from the burning house in a servant's arms wrapped up in a blanket. Little else is known of his childhood ; but it is believed that he was educated by the Christian Brothers in Cork City,[3] whither his family removed after the fire. On leaving school he lectured in the Mechanic's Institute in Cook Street, Cork,[4] before proceeding to Germany, where he studied chemistry in Liebig's laboratory at Giessen[5] for a number of years—eventually obtaining his doctorate (Ph.D.)[6]; his marked ability is said to have attracted special notice. Family tradition has it that he was at Giessen with the well-known British scientist, Lyon Playfair, who worked there in 1839-41.[7] Sullivan seems to have returned to Cork in 1844—proceeding thence, like so many of his fellow citizens, to Dublin.[8] At any rate, in the *Philosophical Magazine* for September, 1845, he published a paper dated " Dublin, July 17, 1845." From this paper, which dealt with the presence of phosphoric acid in rocks and minerals, it would appear that Sullivan was the discoverer of the now well-known iron test for phosphates.

I

When he appeared before the Select Committee on Scientific Institutions in Dublin in 1864, Sullivan stated (evidence p. 183) that he had been appointed private assistant to Sir Robert Kane,[9] Director of the Museum of Economic Geology of Ireland (later the Museum of Irish Industry), about 1845 ; in 1846 he became Assistant Chemist and, afterwards, Chemist to the Museum. This close association with Kane lasted until 1873, when, Kane having retired, Sullivan succeeded him as President of Queen's College, Cork. Even after this they were together on the Authorities of the Queen's and of the Royal Universities.

[1] For all notes see end of article.

Sullivan's work at the Museum was varied in character, involving industrial investigations and analyses for the Geological Survey and other Government Departments; he had also to assist in arranging the collections.[10] His work did not, however, occupy all his time. With Alphonse Gages,[11] who had been appointed to assist him about 1848,[12] he was permitted to have fee-paying pupils in the Laboratory, provided the teaching did not interfere with official work. Further, in 1848, Kane informed the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland, of whose Council he was a member, that the Laboratory of the Museum would be available for such chemical work as it wished carried out. This led to Sullivan's appointment as chemist to the Society, a post which he held for about two years. The appointment was then terminated; there was a certain amount of friction in regard to the examination of some Swedish turnips (see below), and Sullivan was probably unable to devote sufficient time to the Society's work. The Society, however, was careful to explain that its parting with Sullivan in no way reflected on his professional acquirements.[13]

Sullivan contributed in 1848 and 1849 to *The Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science* (originally founded by Kane as *The Dublin Journal of Medical and Chemical Science*)[14] a report of the progress of chemistry for the years 1846 and 1847, while in 1849 there also appeared from his pen in the same journal a "Memoir of Bryan Higgins, M.D. and of William Higgins, Professor of Chemistry to the Royal Dublin Society, with a short notice of Irish Chemists and the State of Chemistry in Ireland before the year 1800."[15]

In spite of all this work Sullivan found time for extramural activities. He was involved in the '48 movement; but an attack of rheumatic fever at the critical period, it is said, laid him low for several months and kept him out of the rising.[16] He was one of the shareholders of the *Irish Tribune*, which succeeded the *United Irishman* on its suppression in May 1848.[17] The *Tribune* was in turn suppressed after five numbers had appeared. It was probably about this stirring period that Sullivan was married to Frances Hennessy, sister of Henry Hennessy[18]; their married life was long and happy.

Sullivan's political activities were ignored by the Government, for he continued his work at the Museum; in 1850 we find him reporting on a sample of mica from Co. Wicklow submitted by the Geological Survey[19]; the previous year he had read a paper before the Royal Irish Academy for the first time—his subject was the chemistry of plant pollen.[20] In 1851 an official report was issued from the Museum describing work by Kane and Sullivan on the destructive distillation of peat; it was followed in 1852 by a "blue-book" on the composition and cultivation of the sugar beet in Ireland.[21] This research, the best known of Kane and Sullivan's joint works, arose out of an investigation carried

out by Sullivan for the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland on the composition of Swedish turnips (an investigation which had been the cause of dispute, since Sullivan held that the specimens had been selected by the Society without the slightest care and were not worth any detailed examination). Their richness in saccharine matter attracted Sullivan's attention and led him to study the subject. Writing over thirty years later in his report on the Cork Exhibition of 1883 (p. 132) Sullivan stated: "With respect to the amount of sugar in Irish-grown beet, as my own work still remains the most extensive contribution yet made on the subject, I cannot do better than summarize the chief result of that work. In consequence of the discussion which arose out of the pamphlets and letters I wrote in 1851, advocating the introduction of beet sugar making in Ireland . . . . public attention was directed to the subject, and the Irish Government was induced to direct scientific inquiry into the composition of Irish-grown beet." The inquiry consisted in ascertaining the influence exercised by locality, soil and cultivation on the nature and produce of the beet crops. Specimens of beet grown under a great variety of circumstances as to locality, soil and manures, were examined in the Museum, in the basement of which Sullivan erected a model sugar plant capable of treating in one experiment over one ton of roots. The results showed—what we now definitely know—that beet with a satisfactory sugar-content could be grown in Ireland. The same year Sullivan published a pamphlet,[22] somewhat polemical in nature, dealing with the economics of beet-sugar production in Ireland; he concluded with these words: "There cannot be the slightest doubt that the manufacture of beet-sugar would be profitable in Ireland." These views were controverted—incorrectly as has since been proved—in a pamphlet issued in 1854 by Professor Samuel Haughton of the Royal Dublin Society.[23] Sullivan also arranged an exhibit on the manufacture of sugar from beet for the National Exhibition of 1852.[24]

Like Kane, Sullivan was fanatical in urging the necessity for the development of Irish industrial resources. He followed up his exhibition activity by founding in 1854 and editing the monthly *Journal of Progress*[25] (divided into two parts, the *Journal of Industrial Progress* and the *Journal of Social Progress*). The first article in the journal (written by Kane) dealt with the Exhibition of 1853 and its influence upon the development of industry in Ireland. Sullivan contributed many articles—for example, schools for teaching the higher branches of science, societies for the promotion and encouragement of industrial arts, suggestions for improvement of the Royal Dublin Society, the use of fish offal as manure, and the utilisation of turf (including the manufacture of paper from turf, the production of peat charcoal, and the utilisation of waste gases from furnaces charged with peat). The section on social progress dealt with art, education, political economy and social economy. The journal was

in advance of its time; Irish industry was too undeveloped to support a periodical devoted to applied science, and Sullivan's venture lasted little more than a year.

II

In 1854 the Royal Dublin Society's educational staff was transferred to the Museum, which was expanded to include a School of Science. While remaining Chemist to the Museum, Sullivan became Professor of Chemistry (theoretical and practical) in the School of Science and Professor of Chemistry in the Department of Science and Art. His duties in the latter post related to an arrangement for the delivery of popular lectures under the joint control of the Government and the Royal Dublin Society.[26] In his official report of the Museum for 1855,[27] Kane states that Sullivan had contributed very complete collections made by him of specimens relating to the iron and steel industry of Belgium; he also refers to the work of Sullivan and Gages on the systematic arrangement of the Museum collections and to their preparation of specimens of Irish coals and ironstones for the Paris Exhibition. In his report for the following year,[28] Kane mentions Sullivan's journey to the manufacturing districts of Great Britain to procure specimens for the Museum. Sullivan, in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, referred to his collecting travels over most of Great Britain and also to the fact that he assisted in the formation of the technological collection of the Industrial Museum of Scotland.[29]

In 1856 Sullivan resigned his post of Chemist to the Museum and also the Professorship of Practical Chemistry which went with it, having accepted an offer from Cardinal Newman of the Professorship of Chemistry in the Catholic University. He retained, however, his Professorship of Theoretical Chemistry and his chair in the Science and Art Department.[30] It is said that his acceptance of Newman's offer meant a financial sacrifice; in this connection it is interesting to examine the official figures relating to Sullivan's salary as far as they can be ascertained. An official return[31] shows that he had in the Museum, in 1846, £80 per annum, which by 1854 had been increased to £200 per annum. Scrutiny of the British Estimates for the relevant years shows that he received an additional £200 when the School of Science was set up. This £200 he lost when he resigned some of his offices to join the Catholic University, where he probably received as much as he lost—though, owing to financial difficulties, salaries were, eventually, sometimes in arrear.

Newman has stated[32] that his appointment of men like Sullivan who in 1848 had been "quasi rebels" was a cause of offence to Cardinal Cullen. But, he added, ". . . they were clever men and had cooled down, most of them. I did not care much for their political opinions . . . I made them Professors. They are the ablest men who have belonged

to the University; such are Professor O'Curry[33] and Professor Sullivan. I can never be sorry for asking their assistance; not to take them would have been preposterous." Writing to Robert Ornsby, Professor of Classical Literature in 1859, Newman said[34]: "I trust you get on with Sullivan—he is a man of great good sense—all I fear is that, having no one to agree with, or to grumble to, he may get disgusted." Sullivan was certainly a happy choice. Until he left Dublin for Cork in 1873, he threw himself heart and soul into the work of the Catholic University, being for periods Dean of the Faculty of Science and Dean of the Faculty of Medicine. Referring to the organisation of the Cecilia Street Medical School, Newman stated[35] that he acted under Sullivan's advice throughout: "His views were large and bold, and I cordially embraced them." Sullivan advocated the teaching of Physiology, Pathology and Pharmacy—subjects up to then neglected for the most part in the United Kingdom. In this connection Newman referred to conversations with Sullivan as early as January 1855. They both had the idea of developing the Cecilia Street section of the University into a complete school of science, and Newman in 1856 fitted up a chemical laboratory for Sullivan at considerable expense in the "Medical House". Sullivan made this one of the best laboratories in Ireland. He also suggested to Newman the provision of a hostel for the protection of the young medical students from the moral dangers of a large city. It was to medical students only that Sullivan lectured, for he had no other students in chemistry.[36]

In 1858 Newman established, in conjunction with Sullivan (who acted as Editor), a journal *The Atlantis* designed to keep its readers *au courant* of the trend and results of modern research and science. The literary portion of the journal Newman regarded as padding—"because," as he wrote, "science does not deal in words, and the results of a year's experiments may be contained in one or two pages."[37] Sullivan was a constant contributor, not only to the science but also to the literary section. For it is to this period that we must date his growing interest in philology and related subjects, especially in their application to his native land. In 1858 and 1859 he published, in *Atlantis*, an article with the title "On the influence which the Physical Geography, the Animal and Vegetable Productions, etc. of different regions exert upon the Languages, Mythology, and early Literature of Mankind, with reference to its employment as a test of Ethnological Hypotheses."

The article, which runs to over 100 pages, gives a most detailed account of a wide variety of European and Asiatic languages, bringing out the reasons for assigning a common origin to the Indo-European group. Deploring the increasing growth of specialisation, he points out that the philologist has failed to recognise the utility of the physical and natural sciences as instruments of research. As an indication of what might be done, he gives figures for a variety of phonetic peculiarities,

including the proportion of vowels in different languages, the ratio between the several vowels, and the proportion of mutes. He then suggests that, if languages were co-ordinated in this way, the elements of a geography of sound would be obtained, the results of which would constitute the true constants of philological science. In regard to the effect of physical surroundings on language, he points out that in mountainous countries the voice is more modulated than on flat open plains. City life tends to sharpen the pronunciation and the upward tendency of the vowels (Sullivan, it should be remembered, was from Cork). He also gives a long list of the names of plants which existed in the Magyar language before the arrival of the Magyars in Hungary. From the geographical distribution of these plants, and from a similar consideration of the names of birds and fishes, he points out the possibility of deducing the place of origin of the Magyars. He, however, stresses the fact that these and other ideas which he develops are purely illustrative of a method of research, based on a combination of philology with the natural sciences, which, if fully implemented, could be applied to solve or elucidate the origin of races.

In 1862 Sullivan published, in *Atlantis*, a translation of some papers by the famous philologist Ebel (1820–1875) on comparative philology as applied to the Celtic languages, together with an introduction by Sullivan himself on the nature, formation and classification of stems, with examples from the Greek, Latin and Gothic. Sullivan greatly extended Ebel's lists of Latin loan-words in Old Celtic. These articles in *Atlantis* were amplified and published as a book (*Celtic Studies*) in 1863. *Atlantis* also contains a number of scientific papers by Sullivan—for example, on plant chemistry and on lactic fermentation; in the latter he discusses critically Pasteur's theory of fermentation. There is also a series of three papers, in collaboration with Joseph P. O'Reilly, on the geology, mineralogy and chemistry of certain deposits in Spain where O'Reilly had been a mining engineer.[38] *Atlantis*, however, though it had gained a reputation as a high-class academic journal, failed to obtain a permanent footing and ceased publication in 1863.

III

The British Association met in Dublin in 1857. Sullivan, who acted as one of the Secretaries of the section devoted to chemistry and mineralogy, read papers on the chemistry of plants, the distillation of peat and the solubilities of salts in water at high temperatures. The last paper was regarded as important, and Sullivan received grants for some years from the Association to prosecute work on solutions, the results being reported to the Association.[39] The year 1857 also marks Sullivan's election to the Royal Irish Academy—with which, for the remainder

of his stay in Dublin, he was closely associated, contributing to its proceedings and serving on the Council from 1862. In 1866 he was a Vice-President and, from 1867 to 1874, Secretary of the Academy. In 1866 he was, possibly at the instance of Kane, nominated to the Senate of the Queen's University; and in 1867, when the Industrial Museum of Ireland (the name by which the Museum of Irish Industry was finally known) was replaced by the Royal College of Science, Sullivan became Professor of Theoretical Chemistry in the new Institution. From 1868 to 1870 he served on the Royal Commission on Primary Education in Ireland.[40]

Mention may here be made of a pamphlet written by Sullivan in the form of an open letter to Sir John Acton, M.P., showing the necessity for an Irish University acceptable to Catholics.[41] In this work he clarifies a point about which there has been frequent misunderstanding—namely, the statement that the condemnation by the Synod of Thurles[42] in 1850 of the principles on which the Queen's Colleges had been established, was carried by one vote only. Actually, as Sullivan points out (p. 52), this proposition was passed unanimously; it was the prohibition, under pain of censure, of ecclesiastics from connecting themselves officially with the Colleges which obtained the bare majority. The Synod laid down no penalties in regard to the laity. There is one point, however, on which Sullivan errs. He states (p. 16) that the Royal Dublin Society, " pervaded even still by the very worst spirit of ascendency . . . . on one occasion . . . . having got into bad odour with parliament and with the public by blackbeaning the late Catholic Archbishop, Dr. Murray, and being desirous of showing how repentant it had become, actually elected a Catholic professor of natural philosophy ! " In fact Kane, to whose appointment Sullivan refers, was elected by the Society in 1834,[43] while the Archbishop was not " blackbeaned " until 1835.

When O'Curry died in 1862, his papers were acquired by the Catholic University Authorities, and Sullivan undertook to edit the lectures on the manners and customs of the ancient (*i.e.* pre-christian) Irish. When the manuscript of the lectures came to be examined, it was found that the sources of the numerous illustrative quotations from ancient Irish writings had not been given, so that Sullivan, with some help from Brian O'Looney (see below), had to go through nearly the whole of the MS. literature of Ireland to find the isolated passages involved; he had also to explain O'Curry's allusions and supplement O'Curry's remarks. He then decided to include the fuller knowledge, which he thus acquired, in an introduction which grew and grew, until it became the first volume of the three eventually published.[44]

This work, which appeared in 1873, is perhaps Sullivan's greatest achievement. He deals with the political and social institutions of ancient Ireland, studied from the point of comparison with the political and

social systems of those countries of Northern Europe which did not come under the direct influence of the Roman Law. He discusses the language, ethnology, classes of society, guilds and trade corporations, executive government, burial customs, dwellings, food, dress, weapons and musical instruments of our forbears. To give his readers an idea of the character of genuine ancient poetry, he included a literal translation of an episode from the *Táin Bó Cuailgne* (see below). Sir Henry Maine,[45] the distinguished jurist who was one of the earliest to apply historical methods to the study of political institutions, quotes extensively from Sullivan in his book of lectures on the early history of institutions, and makes many complimentary references to his erudition.[46]

IV

In 1873 Kane, having resigned the Deanship of the Royal College of Science and Presidency of Queen's College, Cork, suggested Sullivan as his successor for the latter post. The Lord Lieutenant (Earl Spencer) wrote to Sullivan on September 18, 1873, offering him the appointment, but stressing the necessity for his permanent residence in Cork. Sullivan replied immediately accepting the offer and stating that the residence in Cork was an added inducement.[47] However, when he arrived in Cork, he found to his chagrin that the President's House, in which Kane had not permanently resided for twenty years, was in a dilapidated condition and was occupied by the acting steward. Sullivan had given up his house in Dublin, so he had to go into lodgings with his family. He applied to the Government for a grant of £1 per day in view of the extra expense involved. Their Lordships of the Treasury were, for once, not unsympathetic, though they jibbed at paying rates and taxes on the house while Sullivan was not living there.[48]

The College had suffered as a result of Sir Robert Kane's frequent absences. Sullivan threw himself into the administration of the College, which he could rarely be persuaded to leave. His annual reports make most interesting reading, being very different from the bald statements which normally constitute such documents. His first, issued in July, 1874, pointed out many defects in the College buildings and equipment. He requested additions to the library, a physics laboratory, a physiological laboratory (like Kane, Sullivan believed in the practical teaching of the experimental sciences), additions to various departments of the medical school (his experience at Cecilia Street was valuable here), a curator for the various museums, a new museum building, extension of the ethnological and archaeological museums, a glass-house for tropical and sub-tropical plants, purchase of land to improve access to the College, additional fellowships, and, finally, increased pay for the professors, officers and servants of the College. In 1875 Sullivan stressed the need

for a chair in agriculture and suggested the possibility of widening the basis of the school of engineering, so as to provide scientific instruction for mechanical engineers, technical chemists, agriculturists and veterinary surgeons.

Year after year Sullivan continued to ask ; the Government appointed Commissioners to inquire into the wants of the College, and in 1879—thanks to state-grants and to the munificence of Mr. W. H. Crawford, a wealthy brewer who was greatly impressed by Sullivan's personality and ability—he could write that his institution would soon possess physical, chemical, physiological, biological and pharmaceutical laboratories, museums, plant houses and a botanical garden. Mr. Crawford had also donated a magnificent observatory with a fine telescope, the work of Sir Howard Grubb of Dublin. Sullivan thought that, taken as a whole, the equipment of his College was, perhaps, not inferior to any in the kingdom. But much remained to be done : the chemical laboratory was too small, and there were also required a new library and reading room, a new botanical lecture room and herbarium, an engineering model room, and a museum of engineering and technological materials and products ; further, the anatomical lecture room needed a new roof and windows, while the remuneration of the staff was still inadequate.

Succeeding years chronicled fresh improvements ; but always he wanted more. The medical school was his constant care. In 1881 he pointed out the need for lectureships in sanitary science and psychological medicine ; in 1886 he recommended the separation of the anatomy and physiology chairs and the establishment of chairs in human and comparative pathology and in public health. He also worked for the improvement of clinical teaching in Cork. At Mr. Crawford's expense, a new entrance from the Western Road had been provided, and the access to the College was greatly improved. Sullivan was not, however, successful in increasing the remuneration of the Professors ; the Government's reply to proposals in this respect was to suggest the merging of chairs and the distribution of the money thus saved among the staff.[49]

Sullivan had much to say in his annual reports on various aspects of education in Ireland. In 1880 he showed himself strongly opposed to the institution of the Royal University, which substituted " for the very complete collegiate system of university education of the Queen's University and its Colleges a system of mere examination." In 1881 he stressed the lack of good secondary schools in the south of Ireland. Referring to the Intermediate Education Act, he stated : " The plan of paying boys and girls for learning, instead of good teachers for teaching them, possesses at least the merit of novelty ; but even this now uncommon merit is scarcely sufficient to induce any country, anxious to promote knowledge and true education, to adopt the new method. . . . . school work is being reduced to an organized system of cramming the

clever boys capable of winning prizes for themselves and earning result fees for the school, while the great majority who cannot do this receive little or no attention." The inadequacy of teaching in the schools is, of course, a perennial complaint of universities.

In 1884 Sullivan referred to the disturbing effect of the dissolution of the Queen's University and the establishment of a new university with which the College had no official connection ; he felt that the disciplinary powers of the College authorities had been greatly weakened, as the students were not bound to attend any specified number of lectures before proceeding to a degree in Arts. The next year he mentioned that the College had appealed to the Government to institute an inquiry into the working of Queen's Colleges, with special reference to the standards of examination—which, said Sullivan, had been assailed for the purpose of discrediting them. The Report of the Commission was favourable to the Colleges, though some of the Commissioners thought that the standard of the entrance examinations was low as compared with the matriculation examination of the Royal University. Sullivan asked that the " College should be left to do its work without being subjected to useless yet harassing inquiries and attacks, which do not in any way contribute to the end in view." He also stated that the agitation conducted against the College had caused Mr. Crawford to postpone his plan to erect houses for the professors.

The report for 1886 contains a discussion on the need for technical education in Ireland. " The first step in the regeneration of the industry of the country is to provide ample means for the *practical* teaching of science . . . unless provision be made for the higher teaching—theoretical and practical—of science, there will be a want of properly instructed teachers for the Technical Schools, which sooner or later must be established throughout the country. The failure of the Agricultural Schools in Ireland and the success of such schools in other countries ought to be a warning to us to take care that a similar mistake shall not be made respecting Technical Education, of which agriculture should form an essential part." Sullivan again referred to the lack of good secondary schools in Munster, and in his report for 1887 he summed up the situation in the words : " The observations which I felt bound to make in my last Report on the chaotic and helpless condition of the schools of Munster apply equally well now as then."

Sullivan had a pleasant sympathetic personality, so that he had few difficulties with the staff during the years he was at Cork ; he was also *persona grata* with the students, always ready to give them advice on the problems which would face them when they left the College. In December 1882 Parnell visited Cork, and a deputation of the students presented an address to him, stating that they " hoped to lay before him, on a future occasion, a statement of the great and numerous grievances under which

we, as students, labour". Parnell made a suitable reply, in which he promised his help in redressing their grievances. It is said that Sullivan invited Parnell to the College to meet the staff, but that only one professor came to the reception.

V

Sullivan had taken a prominent part in the Dublin Exhibition of 1853; thirty years later he was one of the leading organisers of the Cork Exhibition of 1883, acting as judge and serving on a number of the Committees. At the request of the Executive Committee he drew up a lengthy report on the Exhibition, in which he considered the extent to which the factors upon which industry depends—skilled labour, fuel and power, raw materials, transport facilities, markets and capital—co-exist in Ireland, and discussed the action to be taken to facilitate the growth of existing manufactures and the birth of new ones. This section of the report, which runs to over 200 pages, is in many respects similar to Kane's *Industrial Resources of Ireland*. As is to be expected, he devotes great attention to the paper trade and to the possibility of establishing a beet sugar industry in Ireland. He states that all he had done thirty years before to direct public attention to the manufacture of sugar, at once a promising branch of industry and a school of practical science, had gone for nought and was quite forgotten. He also includes in his survey a discussion on the Irish Fisheries, which Kane had not covered in his famous book, and a section on the anomalies of the goods classification of the Irish railways.[50] Finally, Sullivan reviews the exhibition and draws from it some conclusions as to the condition of Irish industry in his day and its probable prospects. He felt that it showed marks of real healthy growth and gave promise of a great future. His concluding words are: "If the Cork Exhibition has impressed the two-fold lesson it was capable of giving to the rising generation—namely, the promise of a healthy uprise of national industry and the pressing necessity of a more practical education of the people, especially by means of technical instruction—the labour and expense attending it will not have been in vain."

In his evidence before a House of Commons Committee on Irish Industries in 1885, Sullivan put forward similar views. He had previously in 1883 appeared before the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, where he stressed as usual his belief in the necessity for practical instruction and practical examination—he had been successful in having a practical test introduced into the honours B.A. examination of the Royal University, but not into that for the pass degree. He mentioned that a Committee had been formed in Cork to establish a technical school and that he had been asked to draw up a scheme.[51] He later supplied to the Commission a sketch of an organized scheme for Technical Education in Ireland under the four heads: Art, Science, Agriculture and Trades.

Apart from his work for the Cork Exhibition, Sullivan took an active part in the life of the city. He revived the Literary and Scientific Society, of which he became President, and he helped to found, and spent much time in furthering the progress of the Munster Dairy School.[52] His many preoccupations left him little time for literary work, but he contributed to *Two Centuries of Irish History*, edited by James Bryce, M.P. (afterwards Viscount Bryce) the section dealing with the period from the Treaty of Limerick to Irish Legislative Independence (1691-1782). The volume appeared in 1888; there was a subsequent edition in 1907.

In 1873 Sullivan undertook, in conjunction with O'Looney[53] (see above), to edit for the Royal Irish Academy the MSS. of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. By 1876 the Academy, who had heard nothing of the progress of the work and was getting restless, wrote a letter to Sullivan. This letter did not elicit any satisfactory reply, for Sullivan assumed, mistakenly as it appeared, that the Academy wished the work to be submitted piecemeal for criticism before printing. At the end of 1876 the Academy sent a further letter, to which Sullivan replied that the text of the book was ready for the printers. In 1878 a third letter to Sullivan was answered by a statement that he would write when he heard from Professor O'Looney. Then in 1879, in answer to a fourth letter, Sullivan stated that he had still not heard from O'Looney, who, he believed, felt that he had been badly treated by the Academy and would work no more—an attitude with which Sullivan seemed strongly to sympathise. The Academy was unable to obtain a copy of the matter already printed from the printers (to whom £95 had been paid), since the firm refused to move without instructions from Sullivan and O'Looney. O'Looney's grievance against the Academy seems to have been due to a dispute in connection with the publication of a facsimile of the "Book of Leinster," for the contents of which O'Looney had engaged to prepare a catalogue. When finished, he refused to submit it, stating that he wished it to be put directly into print. Eventually the "Book of Leinster" was finished, but the project for the publication of the *Táin Bó Cuailgne* fell through.

VI

Reference has been made to the attack of rheumatic fever which laid him low in 1848. This left him with a weak heart, which began to get worse in 1887. He wished to retire, but was asked by the Government to stay on. He then withdrew from public affairs, devoting himself entirely to the duties of his office. He had his bed brought down to his study and continued his work there. The death of his wife in 1888 hastened his end, which came relatively suddenly in May 1890, three months after that of his old colleague Kane. His death was universally mourned, his funeral being attended (as the local newspapers had it) by men of

all creeds and politics and by all branches of trade and of the learned professions.[54] A movement was at once set on foot in Cork to found a memorial to him, and in May 1894 his life-long friend Denny Lane (see note 4), one of the survivors of '48, unveiled a Celtic cross over his grave. The balance of the fund was handed over to the Munster Dairy School for the foundation of scholarships to commemorate one to whom it owed much.

Any assessment of Sullivan naturally involves comparison with Kane. Both were men of tremendous energy with great powers of work; both were sons of chemical manufacturers and held similar views on the necessity for the development of Irish industries by properly trained workers; both, accordingly, strove hard for the organization of technical education in Ireland and both founded laboratories—Kane in the Museum of Irish Industry, Sullivan in the Catholic University. Both also started journals—Kane the *Dublin Journal of Medical and Chemical Science*, Sullivan the *Journal of Progress*—and both wrote surveys of the industrial resources of Ireland. Both men were able administrators and organisers—Kane being rather the courteous official, Sullivan the sympathetic adviser. Kane was the better chemist; he had a flair for scientific discovery, which Sullivan lacked. Sullivan, indeed, does not appear to have been greatly interested in pure chemistry; he was more concerned with its applications to industry, to geology and to other sciences.[55] His general interests were wider than Kane's; he was probably greater as a social historian and as a philologist than as a chemist. He had a mastery of Irish,[56] and many other European languages were familiar to him. His knowledge of Irish history and literature and of the Irish countryside was profound.[57] Like Kane, he was a life-long student " still hiving knowledge with each studious year " (see note 4). Epitaphs are not noted for accuracy, but that which is inscribed over Sullivan's grave in St. Finbarr's Cemetery, Cork, is a tribute none can question :—" In learning profound, in science a master, he devoted to the intellectual and industrial progress of Ireland the fruits of his deep study of her history, language and character, and a knowledge unparalleled of her resources."[58]

T. S. Wheeler

NOTES

[1] Family tradition gives 1825; Crone, *Concise Dictionary of Irish Biography*, gives 1820, while the monument over his grave states that he was 68 when he died in 1890. Crone, probably incorrectly, says Sullivan was educated in Dublin.

[2] See *Irish Industry*, May 1943, p. 21; also *Nation*, December 24, 1847.

[3] Leading article in the *Freeman's Journal* for May 13, 1890 (the day after Sullivan's death) attributed to his friend Dr. George Sigerson. None of the contemporary obituary notices is informed as to Sullivan's career at the Museum of Irish Industry; his appointment to a chair there in 1854 is related to Sir Robert Kane's acceptance of the Presidency of Queen's College, Cork, in 1845.

[4] Denny Lane (1818–1895)—the " Young Ireland " poet, later Secretary of the Cork Gas Co., and a starch manufacturer—at the unveiling of a monument to Sullivan in Cork

on June 25, 1894 (*Cork Examiner*, June 26, 1894). Lane, who was an intimate friend of Sullivan, said that it was while Sullivan was in Germany that he first acquired his interest in philology.

[5] Sullivan makes a passing reference to his stay at Giessen in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction on June 11, 1883. (Commission evidence relating to Ireland, p. 244).

[6] It is not certain when Sullivan completed his German doctorate (Ph.D.); he does not appear to have described himself as "Doctor" until 1851. In 1882 the Royal University of Ireland conferred on him the degree of D.Sc.

[7] *Dictionary of National Biography, Supplement*, III, 1142; see also *Studies*, 1944, 319.

[8] In an interesting paper on "Currents of electricity produced by the vibration of wires and metallic rods" (*Philosophical Magazine*, 1845, *27*, 264), Sullivan states that he was at Giessen when Hofmann and Blyth (afterwards Professor of Chemistry at Queen's College, Cork) were working on styrole. These authors state (*idem*, p. 119) that they had almost completed the work when a paper by two French chemists (published in October 1844) appeared.

[9] As the career of Sullivan is closely linked with that of Sir Robert Kane, it will be helpful if the articles on Kane in *Studies*, 1944, pp. 158 and 316 are consulted.

[10] See papers relating to the Museum of Irish Industry in House of Commons Accounts and Papers, 1851, *50*; 1852, *51*; 1854, *58*; 1864, *46* (In National Library).

[11] Alphonse Gages, a Frenchman, was Sullivan's assistant and close friend for many years. About 1856 he became Curator of the Museum, ceasing to be Assistant Chemist. Professor Dillon informs me that his mother (Sullivan's daughter) told him that, due to an explosion in the course of an experiment, Sullivan was slightly injured, Gages more seriously, his eyes being affected, so that he was unable to continue chemical work. He was, accordingly, given the sinecure post of Curator. Gages eventually became Librarian of the Royal College of Science and a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Kane, in his report for 1856 (Reference note 28, p. 88) says that the state of Mr. Gages's health prevented him from terminating a number of analyses he had begun.

[12] This date is based on an expenditure statement given in the 1854 reference cited in note 10.

[13] See Minute Book of the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland (in Royal Dublin Society's Library) for 7/12/1848, 8/12/1848, 4/1/1849, 5/4/1849, 7/12/1849, 4/4/1850, 2/5/1850, 15/5/1851, 16/5/1851; see also pamphlet by Professor Samuel Haughton on "The Pretensions of the Museum of Irish Industry" (in the National Library).

[14] *Studies*, 1944, 160.

[15] *Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medicine*, 1848, *5*, 231; 1849, *7*, 201; 1849, *8*, 465.

[16] See note 3.

[17] See "The Young Irelanders" by T. F. O'Sullivan, p. 86. The List of Shareholders gives Sullivan as living at 16 Upper Camden Street; he was probably in lodgings, since he does not figure as a householder in Thom's Directory until the 1850 volume (compiled presumably in 1849).

[18] Sullivan's brother-in-law, Henry G. Hennessy (1826–1901), a Cork man, was the elder brother of Sir John Pope-Hennessy (See *Studies*, 1944, 326) and Sullivan's colleague on the staff of the Catholic University. He was Professor of Applied Mathematics in the Royal College of Science, Dublin from 1874 to 1892. He was a self-taught mathematical physicist; nevertheless he eventually became sufficiently distinguished to be elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. (See *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 1904, *10*, 248). Judging by the date when he first appears as a householder in Thom's Directory (see preceding note) Sullivan was probably married in 1849; this date agrees with the family tradition.

[19] *Journal of the Geological Society of Dublin*, 1850, *4*, 155.

[20] *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 1849, *4*, 374.

[21] Report of inquiry into the composition of the sugar beet in Ireland and its application to the manufacture of sugar, 1852. (In Science Library, University College Science Buildings, Dublin). The "peat" report is in the 1851 reference cited in note 10.

[22] Facts and theories; or, the real prospects of the beet-sugar manufacture in Ireland, 1852. (In National Library).

[23] See footnote 13; also *Studies*, 1944, 321.

[24] *Irish Times*, May 13, 1890. A letter from Sullivan, dated 15 March, 1853 is printed in J. F. Maguire's *The Industrial Movement in Ireland as illustrated by the National Exhibition of 1852*. J. F. Maguire, (1815–1872) founded Cork Examiner 1841; was M.P. 1852–72 and four times Mayor of Cork. See "A Cork Centenary," *Studies*, November, 1941.

[25] In the Science Library of University College, Dublin.

[26] *Studies*, 1944, 321.

[27] Third Report of the Department of Science and Art, p. 129. (In Science Library University College, Dublin).

[28] Fourth Report of the Department of Science and Art, p. 89. (In Science Library, University College, Dublin).

[29] Evidence relating to Ireland, June 11, 1883, pp. 232, 241.

[30] Much detailed information can be gleaned from Thom's Directory in regard to the posts held by Sullivan and the various houses he occupied in Dublin. A list of the latter may be of interest :—1849–54, 66 Lr. Camden St. ; 1854–55, 59 Waterloo Rd. ; 1855–60, 59 (the number was changed to 65 about 1859) Wellington Rd. ; 1860–67, 53 Upper Leeson St. ; 1867–69, no entry in Directory ; 1869–71, 6 Upper Mount St. ; 1871–73, 77 Harcourt St. As indicated in note 17, he was living at 16 Upper Camden St., in 1848. The dates of residence are approximate only.

[31] See 1854 reference, note 10.

[32] Ward, *Life of Newman*, Vol. 1, p. 382.

[33] The distinguished Irish scholar, Eugene O'Curry (1796–1862), was Professor of Irish History and Archaeology in the Catholic University.

[34] Ward, *Life of Newman*, Vol. 1, p. 629. Ornsby (1820–89) was a classical scholar and biographer.

[35] Ward, *idem*, p. 349.

[36] *Story of University College, Dublin*, by the Jesuit Fathers, p. 11.

[37] Ward, *Life of Newman*, Vol. 1, pp. 350, 418.

[38] J. P. O'Reilly (1829–1905) was Professor of Mining and Mineralogy at the Royal College of Science, Dublin from 1868–99. He was deeply interested in archaeology and ethnology. Sullivan, it may be noted, had a real interest in geology. In a paper on the occurrence of mammalian bones, brown coal and pebbles in mineral veins read before the Royal Irish Academy in 1868 (Proceedings, 1866–69, *10*, 397) Sullivan describes a deposit in Rhenish Prussia which he had visited in August 1867 ; he was the author of other papers on geological themes. Sullivan contributed a section on chemistry to a manual of geology published in 1857 by J. Beete Jukes (1811–69)—Director of the Irish Geological Survey, 1850–69 ; Professor of Geology in the Royal College of Science, Dublin, 1867–69. Sullivan accompanied Jukes in the field in 1853 to appreciate better the analytical problems submitted by the Survey. (Report for 1853 in Geological Survey Office).

[39] See Report of the British Association Meeting at Aberdeen (1859), p. 291 of section on reports on the state of science.

[40] Sullivan was a member of the Rosse Commission on the Royal College of Science (See *Studies*, 1944, 322.) Professor Dillon states that Sullivan was at one time Gas Examiner for Dublin and had a gas-testing laboratory fitted up in his house. Sullivan also lectured at the Glasnevin Model Farm (Albert Agricultural College) on agriculture, chemistry and geology (see his evidence before the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, June 11, 1883, p. 232, and before the Select Committee on Irish Industries, May 7, 1885, pp. 10, 43). I have not been able to obtain details of the dates between which Sullivan officiated at Glasnevin, but Professor Dillon thinks it was during the years immediately preceding his departure from Dublin ; three times a week an outside car called to take him to Glasnevin.

[41] The pamphlet was entitled " University Education in Ireland. A Letter to Sir John Dalberg Acton, M.P., 1866." Acton, afterwards Lord Acton, succeeded Cardinal Newman as Editor of the *Rambler* in 1859. In 1862 he merged this periodical in the *Home and Foreign Review*, to which Sullivan was a contributor. Acton eventually became Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge.

[42] See *Studies*, 1944, 325.

[43] *Idem*, 162.

[44] John Edward Pigot (1822–1871)—a Young Irelander, barrister, poet and musician, noted for his collection of Irish music—was to have helped Sullivan, but was eventually unable to do so owing to his departure for India in 1865, whither he went to practise as a barrister. He rapidly amassed a fortune, but died shortly after his return to Ireland. (See *Irish Monthly*, May 1896).

[45] Sir Henry Maine (1822–88), jurist and historian, was legal member of the Council of India ; one of his successors was his friend Whitely Stokes (1830–1909), lawyer and Celtic scholar, who was a friend and to some extent a collaborator of Sullivan (See Preface to *Celtic Studies* by Ebel, translated by Sullivan ; a copy presented by Sullivan is in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy). Stokes later engaged in controversy with Sullivan and other Celtic scholars.

[46] The *Freeman's Journal* article (see note 3) states that Sullivan helped to bring O'Curry into prominence and encouraged him to develop and complete his lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Irish History ; Newman was also a strong supporter of O'Curry.

(See O'Curry's preface to the volume of these lectures ; in the library of the Royal Irish Academy).

[47] File in State Paper Office. See *Studies*, 1944, 325 on the bad effect of Kane's absence from Cork ; the Government was anxious to prevent a repetition of " absenteeism ".

[48] File in State Paper Office.

[49] Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, evidence relating to Ireland, p. 244 (June 11, 1883).

[50] Reading Sullivan's remarks one is reminded of the railway porter's summary of the railway classification system : " pigs is pigs, cats is pigs but tortoises is insects."

[51] Second report of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, evidence relating to Ireland, p. 247, 326.

[52] Report of the Select Committee on Irish Industries, evidence, May 7, 1885, p. 10.

[53] O'Looney (1827–1901) was O'Curry's successor at the Catholic University. He was brought to the front by Sullivan. Professor Dillon states that, when first O'Looney went to Dublin, he was quite unversed in the ways of city life and had frequently to be rescued from embarrassing situations by Sullivan. One such predicament occurred when O'Looney blew out the gas and was nearly poisoned. The story of the dispute about the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* is given in the Minutes of the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* for April 14, 1879 and March 16, 1880.

[54] Not all truly mourned : there is on file in the State Paper Office an application from a close friend of Sullivan for his post in Cork written on the day of the funeral.

[55] An example of Sullivan's wide interests is afforded by the title of a paper he read to the Royal Irish Academy on December 13, 1869 : On the formation of thenardite (mineral sodium sulphate) in connection with the date of the glacial period, and the temperature that prevailed during it, as deduced from the influence of the eccentricity of the earth's orbit on the length of summer and winter in aphelion and perihelion.

[56] Jeremiah Curtin (1835–1906), the celebrated Irish-American anthropologist and linguist visited Cork in 1887 and spent some days with Sullivan to whom he refers as one of Ireland's celebrated Gaelic scholars. (See p. xi of Introduction to Irish Folk-Tales collected by Curtin, published by Folklore of Ireland Society, 1943). Sullivan was probably a native Irish speaker ; the language was widespread in Co. Cork when he was growing up.

[57] Denny Lane (see note 4) said : " There was not an Irish town he did not know ; there was not an Irish shire through which he had not walked. The history, the geography, the geology, the botany, the agriculture, the industries of Ireland were familiar to him." The British periodical *Truth* (29/5/1890) said of Sullivan when he died that he was " a most remarkable man—a man of great intellectual power and most multifarious and varied accomplishments, scientific, literary, archaeological and above all philological."

[59] The thanks of the author are due to Professor Thomas Dillon and Mr. Andrew Dillon for placing much family tradition concerning their grandfather at his disposal ; to the Right Honourable Sir Stanley Harrington (who knew Sullivan personally), Dr. A. O'Rahilly, President of University College, Cork, Mr. M. Butler, Mr. T. Hallissy and Lieut. D. Reilly ; the Director of the Geological Survey ; the Staffs of the National Library and of the Libraries of the Royal College of Physicians, of the Royal Dublin Society, of the Royal Irish Academy, of the University College, Dublin, Science Library, and of the State Paper Office for much willing help.

JOHN LYNCH'S "DE PRAESULIBUS HIBERNIAE"

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JOHN LYNCH, Archdeacon of Tuam, wrote his *De Praesulibus Hiberniae* as long ago as 1672. After his death his unpublished manuscript passed to the library of the French Oratory of Saint-Magloire, where it remained until the dissolution of the Oratory at the time of the Revolution. Since that date it has been preserved in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, where it is now classed as MS. 1869. From 1722 to 1728 Thomas Carte, who had been expelled from Oxford for his Jacobite activities, was resident in Paris and was busy preparing materials for his *Life of James, Duke of Ormonde*. It was most probably during these years that Carte had a full transcript of Lynch's manuscript made for his own use; and this transcript is now in the Bodleian Library, where it is classed as Carte MS. 172. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century Dr. Reeves, to whom students of Irish ecclesiastical history owe so many debts, had a transcript of this Carte MS. made for his own use. With a view to saving time and trouble, Reeves gave instructions that large portions of Lynch's text were to be omitted from his transcript: all the lengthy prolegomena in which Lynch airs some uncritical views as to the early history of the Irish church, and those portions of Lynch's work which Reeves judged to be borrowed directly from Sir James Ware's *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*. This last transcript is now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, where it is classed as T.C.D. MS. K.6.15, being No. 560 in Abbott's *Catalogue*. A few more painstaking students have consulted Lynch's text in this abbreviated form; but the original text has been, for all practical purposes, out of everybody's reach in Paris. The Irish Manuscripts Commission has thus done a real service to Irish students by requesting Rev. Professor O'Doherty to undertake a critical edition of Lynch's work, almost three hundred years after the date of its composition.[1] Nearly a hundred years have gone by since Dr. Matthew Kelly, one of Dr. O'Doherty's predecessors in the chair of Ecclesiastical History at Maynooth, published his edition and translation of *Cambrensis Eversus*.[2] With this publication of *De Praesulibus Hiberniae* Maynooth may claim to have paid in full a debt that was long due to the first Catholic historian of the Irish secular priesthood. Dr. O'Doherty will certainly

[1] *De Praesulibus Hiberniae . . . . authore Joanne Linchaeo.* Edited by Rev. John Francis O'Doherty, D.D., D.Ph. 2 vols. Pp. v, 464; 408. Dublin: Stationery Office. 1944. £2 2s. each. (Irish Manuscripts Commission).

[2] *Cambrensis Eversus.* By Gratianus Lucius, Hibernus (John Lynch). Edited, with translation and notes, by Rev. Matthew Kelly. 3 vols. Dublin: Celtic Society. 1848–52.

find that he has earned the gratitude of many workers in the wide field of Irish diocesan history. He has also made a notable contribution to the study of Ireland's intellectual life in the seventeenth century.

The rules of the Manuscripts Commission place severe (perhaps too severe) limits on the materials which its editors may wish to publish as a commentary on the texts which they have been commissioned to print. Dr. O'Doherty has confined himself to the briefest possible statement of Lynch's career, with a detailed account of the three extant copies of Lynch's work in Paris, Oxford and Dublin. Students of *De Praesulibus* may be glad to have a somewhat fuller account of Lynch's life and some estimate, however imperfect, of the sources available to scholars like Ware and Lynch in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Dr. Kelly's introduction to his edition of *Cambrensis Eversus* contains what is still the fullest account of Lynch's life. The date of his birth can only be fixed approximately about 1599 or 1600, from various incidental allusions in Lynch's published works. John Lynch was indeed exceedingly modest in this matter, and tells us little of his own personal history. We know that his mother (Julia Lynch) was a sister of Dr. Francis Kirwan, who became bishop of Killala in 1645 and died as an exile in 1661. Nothing is known of Lynch's father, who may perhaps have died when John was still a young boy. Hardiman is responsible for the common view that John was the son of Alexander Lynch, a schoolmaster whose school is described by John in a well-known passage of the *De Praesulibus* (ii. 184). Dr. O'Doherty accepts this view, as do most of Lynch's biographers. But the late Father J. Rabbitte, S.J.—using materials supplied to him by Father John MacErlean, S.J.—published an article on this subject in 1936, in which he proved that Hardiman's statement was based on the most untrustworthy oral tradition of a certain John fitzAlexander Lynch, who lived near Galway c. 1815. Father Rabbitte shows that some of the " traditional " material which Hardiman derived from this John Lynch must be classed as " sheer myth " ; and he argues very fairly that John Lynch the historian could hardly have omitted to mention the fact that the schoolmaster, whose school he describes in such detail, was his own father. Basing himself on the very close analogy between the new Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*, which was then being elaborated in Jesuit colleges abroad, and what Lynch tells us of Alexander's school in Galway, Father Rabbitte argues that this Galway schoolmaster must be identified as Alexander Lynch, native of Galway, who was a Jesuit novice and scholastic in Spain and Flanders from 1602 until 1609, when he was compelled to abandon his vocation owing to ill health.

Whether this theory be correct or not, John Lynch began his study of Latin in a school that was organised on Jesuit principles some time before 1615, when Alexander Lynch's school was closed by order of the king's commissioners. In 1618 John was sent abroad, at his uncle's expense,

to continue his study of the humanities at the Jesuit colleges of Dieppe and Douai. His Jesuit masters must therefore be held responsible for Lynch's Latin style, which is everywhere correct and elegant, but a shade too elaborate and recondite.

From Douai Lynch went to Rouen, where he studied theology from c. 1620–24. In 1624 he returned to Ireland, there to serve for almost thirty years as a missionary priest. Dr. O'Doherty has collected various statements from *De Praesulibus* which prove that its author was admitted to the first tonsure in 1624 by Maurice Hurley, bishop of Emly; and that he received the four minor orders from the same prelate. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1625 by Richard Arthur, bishop of Limerick. Soon after his ordination Lynch was appointed chaplain to Sir Richard Blake, and held this post for twenty-four years. In or about the year 1630 he was promoted to a higher dignity as archdeacon of Tuam. His appointment was most probably made by the new archbishop of Tuam, Malachy O'Queely, who was provided to this see in 1630 and was consecrated in Galway on October 11, 1631. Archbishop O'Queely died a martyr's death in 1645; his archdeacon gives a fine account of his pontificate and martyrdom in *De Praesulibus* (ii. 247–53). Of Lynch himself we hear little in these years. We know that he visited St. Patrick's Purgatory in 1632 (i. 74) and that he acted as tutor to Thadeus McKeogh, a future Dominican who died as bishop of Clonfert in 1671 (ii. 317). He was also present, as archdeacon of Tuam, at two provincial synods which Archbishop Malachy O'Queely held in Galway in 1632 and 1640 (ii. 249).

These years in Ireland are of great importance for Lynch's future work. Geoffrey Keating completed his *Forus Feasa ar Éirinn* in 1629, and an unpublished Latin translation of this work by Lynch is still extant. Dr. Matthew Kelly, who had studied it before writing his account of Lynch's life, states that its Latinity is inferior to the archdeacon's later work, and dates it to these years in Ireland. Brother Michael O'Clery and his fellow-workers began their *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann* at Bundrowes in 1632, and they had completed their task by 1636. Brother Michael came to Galway in the late autumn of that year, and secured the written approbation of Archbishop Malachy O'Queely for the work of the Four Masters. We shall see that Lynch made full use of this great chronicle.

Some years later the last and perhaps the greatest of Ireland's hereditary historians, Duald MacFirbis, found refuge in Galway from the new English settlers who were taking possession of O'Dowd's territory in Tireragh. If the traditional date of Duald's birth (1585) is accepted, he was then nearly sixty years old; but I suspect that this date is at least ten years too early. The first certain date in his career is 1643, when he works as a scribe in Galway. Duald had been educated in a tradition

very different from the new continental culture of which Lynch was a good representative. He had been sent by his father, Giolla Iosa mór, to be taught the old Irish learning by MacEgan in Ormond ; and O'Curry claims him also as a pupil of O'Davoren in the Burren of Clare. Yet Lynch and MacFirbis understood one another from the first, and the archdeacon of Tuam cites Duald as " an erudite antiquary " in *De Praesulibus* (ii. 321). Three fragments of old Irish annals are still extant which Duald copied for Archdeacon Lynch in Galway in 1643. Duald's copy is made from an older volume which had once belonged to Nehemias MacEgan, " chief professor of the Old Irish or Brehon Laws ". Lynch acknowledges his debt to Duald in *Cambrensis Eversus* (ii. 374).

Forty years later, when Roderick O'Flaherty, who knew both Lynch and Duald MacFirbis, published his curious *Ogygia* (1685), he printed by way of preface to his book a long letter which he had sent to the archdeacon, then at St. Malo, in 1665. In this letter O'Flaherty, whom Lynch had consulted on the subject of early Irish chronology, states most definitely that Lynch had followed the Four Masters in his succession-lists of the Irish kings, as printed in *Cambrensis Eversus* in 1662. Since O'Flaherty has left notes in his own handwriting on one of the two autograph copies of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, we know that he must have had the precious volumes in his custody for some time. Lynch, who was working in exile, must have either made copious notes from his friend's copy or else have secured a full transcript for his own use. He cites the *Annales Dungallenses* (to use his own term) frequently. He also cites from his own library (ii. 310) an old vellum manuscript containing annals from 1141 to 1200, which has since disappeared ; and an otherwise unknown " Annals of Loch Mask " (ii. 223-5 ; 311).

Lynch had access to one at least of the surviving ancient books of Irish learning. Throughout *Cambrensis Eversus* he frequently cites " Johannes O Duveganus," whom John O'Donovan identified as Seán mór O Dubhagáin, author of a famous Irish topographical poem. Indeed the third chapter of *Cambrensis Eversus* is no more than a Latin translation of this poem. But the other references to " O Duveganus " are of a different character ; and a passage in *De Praesulibus* (i. 15) makes it certain that these citations are all from the surviving Book of Uí Maine, which was still in the possession of the O'Kelly family in Lynch's day. I have made a careful comparison of Lynch's citations, which give the folio number, with the surviving text of the book as recently edited for the Royal Irish Academy by Dr. Macalister. In almost every case Lynch's reference is correct (with a small margin of error), and some of them show that the book still had leaves at the beginning and end of the volume that are now missing after the lapse of three centuries. Lynch names Seán Ó Dubhagáin as the scribe of the whole book (which is not correct), and gives the date of his death as 1440 (ii. 216). This Seán is Seán,

son of Cormac, whose death is recorded by the Four Masters in 1440. He was probably a grandson of Seán Mór.

Was it for Archdeacon Lynch that Duald MacFirbis made his abridged transcript of the old Clonmacnois chronicle which we now know as *Chronicon Scotorum*? Duald tells us that it was "for a certain reason" that he confined himself, against his own better judgment, to "a short abstract and compendium of the history of the Scots in this book". He does not name his patron, but he must have been working for some student of Irish history who was impatient of the tedious, semi-mythical prolegomena which the older Irish tradition jealously preserved. Lynch shows no detailed knowledge of *Chronicon Scotorum* in his *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*. But it was for a scholar of Lynch's type and interests that Duald made his transcript. He may have completed his task after the archdeacon's sudden flight in 1652.

Meanwhile Dublin was becoming the centre of a new and, in some ways, more critical school of Irish history. Ussher published his *Discourse of the Religion anciently professed by the Irish* (a frankly partisan statement of the evidence) in 1623. His *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge* appeared in 1632; and his *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* in 1639. Ussher's younger contemporary, Sir James Ware (he was knighted in 1629), published his *Archiepiscoporum Casseliensium et Tuamensium Vitae* in 1626; and his *De Praesulibus Lageniae* in 1628. His more famous *De Scriptoribus Hiberniae* did not appear until 1639. We may be sure that these first fruits of the new Anglo-Irish school of historical study were eagerly studied by John Lynch in Galway; for he cites them frequently in *Cambrensis Eversus*.

Civil war put an end to these literary labours—first in Dublin, then in Galway. Ussher was in England when trouble started in 1641, and he never came back to this country. He died at Reigate early in 1656, having spent most of the last fifteen years of his life in London. His published work during these years is concerned solely with scriptural and theological problems. Sir James Ware shared in the varying fortunes of the royalist party in Ireland, and was a prisoner in the Tower of London for the best part of one year. He was in Dublin when the city was surrendered to the Cromwellians in 1647, and was finally forced to leave Ireland in 1649. For the next eighteen months he was in France; first at St. Malo (whither Archdeacon Lynch was to follow him in 1652), then at Caen, and finally in Paris. He joined Ussher in London in 1651, where he published two editions of his *De Hibernia et ejus Antiquitatibus* in 1654 and 1658. The Restoration made it possible for him to return to Dublin, where he resumed his offices as auditor general and member of the privy council.

Archdeacon Lynch spent the twelve years from 1641 to 1652 at his residence near Tuam; taking no active part in the troubled history of

those years, but watching with keen interest the rise and fall of the Catholic Confederacy. His personal point of view appears most clearly in *Cambrensis Eversus*. Like Archbishop John de Burgo, who was provided to the see of Tuam in 1647, he was a wholehearted supporter of Ormonde as against the nuncio and his party. To the Ulster Irish in particular he was strongly opposed, holding that they no less than the new English speculators in Irish land were mainly responsible for the disasters that had come on the Irish cause. It must be admitted that Lynch shows little or no sympathy for the natural grievances of the Ulster Irish, who had been dispossessed of their lands by the new planters under James I. When Galway was surrendered to the Cromwellians in 1652 the archdeacon of Tuam left the country never to return. His uncle, Bishop Kirwan of Killala, did not follow him until 1655—when he and the archbishop of Tuam, having spent almost a year as prisoners in Galway, were deported to France. Dr. Kirwan, who had always been a devoted admirer of the Jesuit Fathers to whom he owed his education, settled near their college at Rennes in Brittany. He petitioned the Jesuit General for admission to the Society of Jesus before his death, and was buried in the Jesuit church at Rennes in 1661. Archbishop John de Burgo spent five years of exile (1655–60) at St. Malo. John Lynch, still archdeacon of Tuam, is known to have been living at St. Malo in 1660; and his cousin, Bishop Andrew Lynch of Kilfenora, had also settled there. In *De Praesulibus* (ii. 259) John Lynch notes the convenience of this Breton port as a harbour which was frequently visited by Irish traders.

We know little or nothing of Lynch's life as an exile during these years. His published work makes it certain that he must have succeeded in bringing his notes and books with him to safety in 1652. We know that he published his chief work, *Cambrensis Eversus*, in 1662; and it is probable that the work was printed at St. Malo. Internal evidence shows that the work had been composed before the Restoration of 1660, and we may guess that Lynch spent most of his first years as exile on a work which he had probably planned and for which he must have collected much material, whilst he was still a missionary priest in Ireland. In 1664 he published (probably at St. Omer) a reply to the *ex parte* statement of an Irish Capuchin friar, Father Richard Ferral, who had petitioned Propaganda on behalf of the native Irish interest in 1658. Lynch's reply to Ferral's petition (which is now excessively rare) is entitled *Alithinologia sive veridica Responsio ad Invectivam, Mendaciis, falaciis, calumniis, & imposturis foetam in plurimos Antistites, Proceres & omnis ordinis Hibernos a R.P. R. F.C. Congregationi de Propaganda Fide, Anno Domini* 1659, *exhibitam.* It is a vigorous defence of the Old English or Anglo-Irish party to which Lynch himself, with most of his friends in Galway and Tuam, had always belonged. Lynch continued the argument in a later *Supplementum Alithinologiae*, printed in 1667. In both these tracts he assumed the name

Eudoxius Alithinologus, whilst he had published *Cambrensis Eversus* over the pseudonym Gratianus Lucius.

In this same year (1667) Lynch composed a Latin poem in answer to a friend's question: *Cur in patriam non redis?* By a curious oversight, Dr. O'Doherty has listed this poem as among Lynch's unpublished works. It was in fact printed by James Hardiman as far back as 1846, from a manuscript then in Hardiman's own library. Some of its verses have autobiographical interest, as throwing light on the archdeacon's priestly character. Lynch makes it plain, for example, that one strong motive for leaving Ireland in 1652 was his wish to be at last in a country where the Church's liturgy could be celebrated with full pomp and dignity, not secretly in some poor cottage:—

"Sed sacra pertaesus domuum celebrare latebris,
in templo optavi nostra videre sacra."

In France there is no need to climb stairs even to the fourth storey, so as to be able to preach to the faithful in safety:—

"Non hic nos quartum tabulatum ascendimus ultra,
ut nobis fiat concio sive sacrum:
Grandibus in templis palam veneranda locatur,
non in despectis hostia sacra casis."

He adds that his return to Galway would certainly expose both his own life and the life of his hosts to danger, for he had incurred the enmity of some of the king's ministers by what he had written in his books:—

"Edideram libros, et in his ego culpo ministros
Regis supremos, nil nisi vera loquens."

If his friends argue that his writings have been forgotten after so many years and that he has powerful friends in Galway who will be glad to welcome him home, he replies that the father whom he had attacked is dead, but that the son still lives and is in a position to avenge his father's memory:—

"Si patrem laesi, patris ultor filius in me
acria patriti tela furoris aget.
Audio magnates aliquos mihi velle favere:
sunt alii, quibus est mens inimica mihi."

Dr. Kelly, who has commented on this poem in the preface to his edition of *Cambrensis Eversus*, identifies the father as Sir Charles Coote, whom Lynch does in fact assail with unwonted vigour in that work. Coote died in 1661 and was succeeded by his son and namesake, who was still President of Connacht in 1667. It is plain that Lynch, now an old man nearing his seventieth year, preferred a quiet studious life in Brittany to the dangers of missionary work in Galway. But it is no less plain that the archdeacon had deliberately dedicated his life's work as a student to the defence of the Irish Catholic cause.

In 1669 Lynch published at St. Malo a short biography of his uncle, the bishop of Killala, who had died at Rennes in 1661. The full title of this book is *Pii Antistitis Icon, sive de Vita et Morte Revmi. Francisci Kirovani, Alladensis Episcopi.* It is frankly a panegyric of Dr. Kirwan as an ideal missionary bishop, and indeed the archdeacon has an edifying tale to tell. The book was dedicated to Gregory Joyce, then a canon of Ste. Gudule in Brussels, with whom Lynch had worked in Galway. This is the first book which Lynch published over his own name, adding his title as archdeacon of Tuam. He must have resigned this dignity in 1670 or 1671, for he signs his name as " lately archdeacon of Tuam " on the title-page of his last work, *De Praesulibus Hiberniae,* which he had completed before the end of 1672.

Meanwhile Sir James Ware had returned to Dublin in 1660, and had published his *Rerum Hibernicarum Annales* there in 1664. This work covers no more than the reigns of Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary (1485–1558), and is written entirely from the English point of view. Ware's next work was also, in some respects, his most important contribution to the study of Irish history: his *De Praesulibus Hiberniae,* which was published in Dublin before the end of 1665. The book must have found its way to St. Malo soon after publication. Lynch had used Ware's two earlier essays in this field: *Archiepiscoporum Casseliensium et Tuamensium Vitae* and *De Praesulibus Lageniae,* which had appeared as far back as 1626 and 1628. But these were no more than a young student's first efforts in a subject which needed almost a life-time's work for mature success. To understand the full measure of Ware's erudition in 1665, we must recall the many opportunities (some of them, alas! now lost for ever) which Ware had enjoyed during the early years of his association with Ussher in the Dublin of Charles I's reign.

Many of the official records of English government in Ireland had perished during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; but a great mass of patent rolls, close rolls, plea rolls, justiciary rolls and memoranda of the exchequer were still preserved in the Birmingham Tower at Dublin Castle. Ware had access to all these over a period of many years, and his writings are full of information which he had extracted, more or less accurately, from this official source. The dates at which restitution of temporalities was granted to a new bishop, or licence to elect after the death of a former bishop, were normally entered on these rolls, with many other valuable items of information. These entries were not confined to the small territory of the later Anglo-Irish Pale, for the English administrators had succeeded in maintaining control over many dioceses that lay remote from Dublin. But Ware would find nothing here about a large number of western and northern dioceses, which lay outside the effective control of Dublin officials for the whole medieval period. None the less, his extracts from the official rolls in Dublin Castle were

probably the most important single source from which he could hope to compile an accurate account of the succession of Irish bishops.

Again, the seizure of the old cathedral churches and of all their temporalities by the king's nominees under Henry VIII had placed the Protestant clergy of Ware's day in the position of being custodians of all surviving medieval records of the Irish Church. In Dublin Ware had easy access to the "Crede Mihi" of St. Patrick's, the Black Book and White Book of Christ Church, and Archbishop Alan's important register. He does not seem to have used the Christ Church Deeds, which were probably in a state of great confusion at this time. All the great series of Armagh registers, which begin in the second half of the fourteenth century and continue almost without a break to the reign of Henry VIII, were easily accessible to him in Drogheda, where they were under the immediate custody of Primate Ussher. Ware also cites entries from the Red Book of Ossory and the Black Book of Limerick (which did not pass into Catholic hands until after 1690). He knew also other similar volumes of which we know no more than the name to-day; for example, a lost register of the deans of Limerick and a similar register of the deans of Waterford. Other stray documents seem to have survived in the Anglo-Irish dioceses of Ferns and Meath; for Ware has preserved the text of some medieval statutes from these dioceses, without stating clearly the source from which he copied them. They were probably preserved on single rolls, like the surviving roll from which Reeves edited his text of the visitation of Derry by Primate Colton in 1397.

Ware had also access to numerous Anglo-Irish chronicles of which both he and Ussher had copies in their libraries. He cites, of course, Giraldus Cambrensis; the Annals of St. Mary's, Dublin; Stephen Dexter's so-called Annals of Multyfarnham; John Clyn's Franciscan Annals from Kilkenny, and the slightly later Franciscan Annals of Nenagh; Christopher Pembridge's Annals of Dublin, revised and continued by an anonymous fourteenth-century Dominican; Marlborough's Annals of the early fifteenth century; Hanmer's Chronicle, and other Tudor narratives.

From this considerable body of Anglo-Irish literature, Ware could supplement his extracts from the official rolls in Dublin Castle. But their scope was again limited to that portion of Ireland which had come most closely in contact with the Anglo-Norman settlers. Hence the importance of Ware's debt to the surviving native Irish annals. Three of the most important texts of Irish annals—the B-text of the Annals of Ulster, the original text of the Annals of Innisfallen, and all that now survives of the so-called Annals of Tigernach—are to-day among Ware's manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. He must have acquired them at a very early date, for two of them are mentioned in a letter which Ware sent to Ussher, then at Drogheda, on September 21, 1627. Ware had undertaken, so he reminds Ussher, "to let you have the view of all such old manuscripts

concerning the affairs of this kingdom which come unto me; especially knowing the good use your grave and deep judgment may make of them." But he adds: "I have now a special occasion to use my Ulster Annals and the Annals of Innisfallen; I entreat your Grace to send them me by this bearer." Ware's frequent allusions to the Annals of Loch Cé are derived from a collection of short extracts, now in T.C.D. MS. F. 1, 18; and he also cites the Annals of Boyle.

How far was Ware able to make use of these priceless materials for the history of Ireland? That section of his library which is now among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum contains his notes and much of the material from which he worked. Two of these manuscript volumes (Add. MSS. 4789 and 4795) contain an almost complete translation of the Annals of Ulster, made from the A-text with occasional use of the B-text, and written in no less than ten different hands. Ware seems to have had some opportunity of consulting the A-text of these Annals (now in Trinity College, as MS. H. 1. 8), when he employed a group of Irish scribes to make a full translation for his future use, getting them to work simultaneously on various sections of the long text. Ware makes very constant use of the Annals of Ulster in all his published work on Irish history; but he seems to have depended on such English or Latin translations for most of his knowledge of the Irish annals.

And here we come back to the name of Duald MacFirbis. That unwearying scribe and scholar had remained in Connacht throughout the whole period of Cromwellian persecution. In 1650, shortly before the siege of Galway, he had completed that elaborate Book of Genealogies which is now the chief treasure of the library of University College, Dublin. The note which Duald has himself added to the descriptive title of this work is so characteristic of the man and his age that I cannot resist the temptation of once more quoting it in full: "Although the above is the customary way of giving titles to books at the present time, we will not depart from the following of our ancestors, the ancient summary custom, because it is the plainest; thus: The place, time, author and cause of writing this book are:—the place, the College of St. Nicholas, in Galway; the time, the time of the religious war between the Catholics of Ireland and the Heretics of Ireland, Scotland and England, particularly the year 1650; the person or author, Dubhaltach, the son of Gilla Isa Mór Mac Firbhisigh, historian etc., of Lecáin Mac Firbis, in Tireragh, on the Moy; and the cause of writing the book is, to increase the glory of God, and for the information of the people in general." Fourteen years later Duald added a note on one page of his manuscript, with the following tragic comment on the contrast between the old order and the new: "It is no doubt a worldly lesson to consider how the Gaeidhel were at this time conquering the countries far and near, and that not one in a hundred of the Irish nobles at this day possesses as much of his land as

he could be buried in, though they expect it in this year, 1664." This note was perhaps added in Sir James Ware's house in Dublin. The high hopes that followed the Restoration of 1660 were doomed to disappointment.

During the last years of his long life Duald MacFirbis seems to have devoted himself to that study of Old Irish law into which he had been initiated by MacEgan in Ormond as a young man. But he spent at least two years in Ware's house in Dublin from 1665 to the end of 1666. Eugene O'Curry has caused some confusion by an error in his transcription of one of Duald's autobiographical notes. He cites the following from Clarendon MS. 68 of the British Museum (now classed as Add. MS. 4799): "The ensuing bishops' names are collected out of several Irish ancient and modern manuscripts, viz.: of Gilla-isa Mac Fferbisy, written before the year 1397 (it is he that wrote the greate Booke of Leackan Mac Fferbisy, now kept in Dublin), and out of others the Mac Fferbisy Annals, out of saints' calendars and genealogies also, for the Right Worshipful and ever honoured Sir James Ware, knight, and one of his Majesties Privie Council, and Auditor General of the Kingdom of Ireland. This collection is made by Dudley Firbisse, 1655." This extract, which has been repeated by Hennessy in the preface to his edition of *Chronicon Scotorum*, has led some of Duald's biographers to conclude that he was working as scribe to Sir James Ware in Dublin for some ten or eleven years before Ware's death in 1666. A moment's reflection will show that the date 1655, as copied by O'Curry, is impossible. Ware was in London, not Dublin, in that year; there was no king of England for whom he could have acted as auditor general and member of the privy council; and the Book of Lecan, which was one of the Irish manuscripts in Ussher's library, was in London until after Ussher's death in 1656. When I first noted this error, I thought it possible that O'Curry had mistaken 1635 for 1655, and that this note could be cited in proof of a connection between Duald MacFirbis and Sir James Ware at that early date. But Ware was not admitted to the privy council before 1639; and Ussher's library was at Drogheda in 1635. The true date is certainly 1665, when Ware had been restored to his offices in Dublin, and when Ussher's books had been brought back to Dublin Castle on their way to their final resting-place in Trinity College. The date is thus of double significance. Sir James Ware was then preparing his *De Praesulibus Hiberniae* for publication; and we can understand why he should have needed this list of Irish bishops, compiled for his use by the best Irish scholar of his day.

Few of the sources which I have named were available to Archdeacon Lynch at any time in his life. This disadvantage was in itself so enormous as to make it plain from the start that Lynch, if he were to go forward with his plan of preparing a Catholic counterpart to Ware's work, must frequently do no more than transcribe and comment on Ware's

abundant materials. Indeed the impression has prevailed among scholars that Lynch's work has little or no independent value until the middle of the sixteenth century, when the two narratives begin to diverge: Ware following the succession in each bishopric by royal appointment, Lynch following the succession by papal provision. Under this impression, Reeves gave instructions that a large section of Lynch's manuscript need not be transcribed for his use, as being no more than an amplified version of Ware's *De Praesulibus*. A careful study of some representative sections of the new printed edition has convinced me that Lynch's *De Praesulibus* has a very much higher value as an independent source than has hitherto been believed.

For the earlier Celtic period Lynch has the great advantage of close familiarity with Colgan's two great folio volumes. Colgan himself had died at Louvain early in 1658. He had been in bad health for some years past, and was thus unable to complete the vast project of his *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*. The first volume, containing the lives of 270 Irish saints for the first three months of the calendar year, was published at Louvain in 1645. The *Trias Thaumaturga*, containing all Colgan's accumulated learning on Patrick, Brigid and Colmcille, was published in 1647. A third volume, which was planned to contain the lives of Irish saints for the three months of April, May and June, was being prepared for the press in 1648; but it never appeared. Students of *Cambrensis Eversus* will know how constantly Colgan is cited as an authority in that work. Lynch uses Colgan's materials no less freely in *De Praesulibus*.

Lynch had another important precursor in David Rothe, the famous bishop of Ossory, whose *Analecta*, with its full account of the sufferings and martyrdom of so many Irish confessors of the faith, had been printed at Cologne as early as 1616. But the *Analecta* is no more than a first essay by a student who was prepared to devote a whole lifetime of labour to the work of recording all that could be known of the saints, abbeys and churches of Ireland. In a remarkable passage of *De Praesulibus* (which Carrigan has translated in the first volume of his *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*) Lynch pays eloquent tribute to the pioneer work of his contemporary. Apart from some minor works, which Lynch knew and cites occasionally, Bishop Rothe had devoted the best years of his long life to an elaborate *Hierographia Hiberniae*, which was ready for the press in 1644, but which he was never able to print owing to lack of funds. The manuscript perished in the general confusion which followed the surrender of Kilkenny to the Cromwellians in 1650. Lynch tells us (i. 386) that he owned one small fragment of this great work. Ussher, who corresponded for a time with Rothe in Kilkenny, made use of another section in his own account of early Christian origins in Ireland. (*Works* vi. 284; 377).

Sir James Ware cites the Annals of Ulster, the Annals of Innisfallen,

the Annals of Tigernach and the Annals of Loch Cé in his various works. Lynch knew none of these texts: where he cites them in *De Praesulibus*, it will be found that he is citing them at second-hand from Ware. But he was personally familiar with the *Annales Dungalenses* (as he invariably names the Annals of the Four Masters), and he constantly inserts entries from this source in his succession-lists for the various dioceses. His entries are indeed so numerous and so accurate that I feel sure that Lynch was working from full notes made for his own use during the last years of his active work in Ireland. Since most of these entries are made silently in Lynch's text, it is easy to gain the impression that Lynch is doing no more than reproducing Ware's entries. Actually, he is everywhere correcting and supplementing Ware's lists from the Four Masters. His knowledge of Keating's *History of Ireland* gave him the text of the famous Acts of the Synod of Rath Breasail, which Keating had copied from the Book of Clonenagh. Ware shows no knowledge of this important document in his *De Praesulibus*.

Another important source from which Lynch was able to draw freely was Luke Wadding's monumental *Annales Fratrum Minorum*. This great work appeared in eight folio volumes between 1625 and 1654. It contains numerous entries, derived from Franciscan and other Roman archives, concerning the numerous friars who were provided to Irish sees during the medieval period. Lynch makes full use of this source. He also adds important papal documents from such sources as the *Annals* of Baronius, and its continuation by Raynaldus. He cites the *Purpura S. Bernardi* of Gaspar Iungelinus (ii. 338; 347) for some fifteenth-century Cistercian entries. Ware had already used earlier Irish Cistercian entries which he found in the Annals of St. Mary's, Dublin.

Occasionally Lynch is able to add material from some ecclesiastical register which he himself had seen in Ireland. He cites the register of the Dominican convent at Athenry (ii. 220; 222); and is able to quote in full some Latin verses from the register of the Dominican convent at Limerick (ii. 75), which give us the names of various prelates who were buried in their church. His information about Cashel is mainly derived from a book which Patrick Fleming, parish priest of St. John's, Cashel, had compiled and which John Sall, precentor of Cashel, had communicated to Lynch at St. Malo (ii. 12). Thanks to this unpublished work, Lynch is able to claim that his account of Cashel's history is exceptionally full. He cites many entries from a manuscript catalogue of the archbishops of Cashel; gives a full account of a visitation held in 1437; and has interesting details about Archbishop Cantwell's restoration of the diocesan treasures (ii. 26).

It is, of course, in the history of Tuam and the neighbouring dioceses that Lynch's account is most vivid and most trustworthy. He had lived and worked here as a priest for almost thirty years, and he records any

number of personal reminiscences which make his narrative most instructive and entertaining. There is, for example, at the beginning of the section on Tuam a very detailed account of the various churches which had fallen into ruin within his own lifetime; with a vivid description (in Lynch's most difficult Latin) of the discovery, by some harvesters, of St. Jarlath's remains shortly before the year 1628 (ii. 213). I have cited the long biographical notices of the two archbishops of Tuam with whom Lynch worked in Ireland; but there are many other memories, some of which help us to a better understanding of what had taken place in Connacht under Henry VIII and Elizabeth. The long account of Archbishop Christopher Bodkin, for example (ii. 230–2), is of great value; and Lynch has some new details about his rival, Art O'Friel, which are to be found in no other narrative (ii. 233). He cites in this section (ii. 225–6) three separate manuscript catalogues of the archbishops of Tuam, which he himself owned; describes the tombs of two archbishops which he had seen in the Franciscan church of Ross-errilly (ii. 230); and gives a very full account of the diocese in his own lifetime, ending with a long apologia for his metropolitan, Archbishop James Lynch, who was provided to the see of Tuam in 1667 (ii. 261–277). His account of the other western dioceses in the seventeenth century is also full of interest.

Enough has been said to show that Lynch's *De Praesulibus Hiberniae* is a work of which his Irish Catholic contemporaries had good reason to be proud. Yet the work lay unpublished for more than a century in the library of Saint-Magloire. Dr. O'Doherty is inclined to think that Lynch must have died soon after he had completed *De Praesulibus* in 1672; but Father John Brady, in reviewing these two volumes, has brought forward documentary proof that its author was still alive in 1677. He must then have been very near his eightieth year. We can only conjecture that the funds which were available for the publication of *Cambrensis Eversus* in 1662 failed him ten years later. The same failure probably accounts for the fact that he never wrote a *Monasticon Hibernicum*, which he seems to promise his readers at the end of his section on the diocese of Clonmacnois (i. 279).

It is not easy to be sure how Lynch first came into contact with the Oratorians of Saint-Magloire. In his preface to *De Praesulibus* (i. 8) Lynch names Father Abel Louis de Ste.-Marthe as having encouraged him to compile this work. Father Abel Louis was elected Superior General of the French Oratory in the summer of 1672; but Lynch tells us that he had been in touch with this distinguished Oratorian whilst he was still assistant to his predecessor in that office. In an article which the late Father Patrick Boyle, C.M., contributed to the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (September 1902), the suggestion is made that Lynch ended his days as a guest in the Oratory of St.-Magloire. This suggestion seems to be based on the fact that Lynch's manuscript passed to that Oratory after

his death. But Father Boyle fails to notice an epitaph that Lynch's life-long friend Roderick O'Flaherty, who had kept in touch with the arch-deacon during his long exile at St. Malo, wrote after Lynch's death. O'Flaherty states definitely that Lynch died in Brittany :—

" Occidit Armoricis pius heu ! Lynchaeus in oris,
Lynchaeus patriae lux columenque suae."

All that we know of Lynch's last years suggests that he resided fairly constantly at St. Malo ; though he must have journeyed occasionally to Paris, where he met Father Abel Louis de Ste.-Marthe ; and perhaps to Louvain, St. Omer and other centres of the Irish colony in Flanders.

I think we can assume a different reason for the transfer of Lynch's unpublished manuscript to the library of Saint-Magloire. Father Abel Louis was a member of a family which gave several prominent scholars to the French clergy of the seventeenth century. The most famous of them was his younger kinsman, Father Denis de Ste.-Marthe, who joined the French Congregation of the Benedictines of St. Maur, published a critical edition of St. Gregory's works, and edited the first four noble volumes of the St. Maur *Gallia Christiana*. He died as Superior General of St. Maur in 1725. Father Boyle thinks that the Oratorians of Saint-Magloire were busy preparing an *Orbis Christianus* or a complete history of the Catholic hierarchy in every Christian country, and that they kept Lynch's *De Praesulibus Hiberniae* with a view to publishing it as the Irish section of that work. This seems to me very probable, and I think it throws light on another problem as to Lynch's sources. From the point at which Lynch's narrative begins to diverge from Ware in the reign of Henry VIII, we find him constantly citing *Tabulae Romanae* as a source from which he derives the dates of papal provision for each diocese. So far as we know, Lynch was never in Rome ; nor would he easily have found time to make extracts from the Roman archives. I suggest that the Oratorians of Saint-Magloire had made extracts from these archives for their projected *Orbis Christianus*, and that Lynch—through his friendship with Father Abel Louis de Ste-Marthe—was permitted to use these records for his *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*.

One last point may be mentioned in this connection, for the light it throws on Lynch's theological opinions and the character of his work. Father Abel Louis was Superior General of the French Oratory from 1672 until 1696. During that time his influence was constantly used in favour of the Jansenist party among the Oratorians, and his own close friendship with Quesnel made him suspect in Rome. Lynch never mentions the Jansenist controversy in any of his works, though the Irish colony in Paris was sharply divided into a Jansenist and anti-Jansenist faction during his lifetime. " L'Affaire des Hibernois " is one of the minor episodes in the early history of that controversy, and caused much stir in the Sorbonne

during the year 1651. Lynch's friendship with the Oratorians might suggest that he shared their Jansenist opinions; but there is at least one passage in *De Praesulibus* which is good proof of the contrary. A synod of Tuam was held *in quodam refugii loco dictae diocesis* early in 1660. One of its decrees contains a warning against the new Jansenist doctrines. Lynch does not mention this synod, but he states (i. 145) that he had seen a printed text of the decrees of an Armagh synod which was held in October of this same year. One of these decrees ordained that all who were suspect of Jansenism should be excluded from all benefices in the province. Since Lynch describes the decrees of this synod as *summam pietatem in omnibus capitibus redolentia*, there is no need to inquire further as to his views on the Jansenist controversy.

The absence of any Jansenist element in the archdeacon's theology might indeed be presumed from the total absence in his writings of any bias against the contemporary religious orders. Dr. Kirwan of Killala, Lynch's uncle and patron, petitioned for admission to the Society of Jesus before his death; and Lynch's allusions to the work of various Irish Jesuits in his day, though infrequent, are always friendly and courteous. Even more notable is Lynch's reluctance to exploit any occasion of criticising prelates who belonged to one or other of the mendicant orders. A good example may be found in the case of Myler Magrath, whose name survives in most Irish memories as the very type of an apostate friar. Lynch names him more than once, and gives a full account of his lamentable career in his section on the dioceses of Down and Connor (i. 227–8); but he is content with a passing allusion to Myler's activities in his long narrative of the struggle that went on for so many years in the diocese of Cashel (ii. 32–40).

Such restraint is unusual in writers of the seventeenth century, when a man's convictions were commonly judged by the violence of his abuse in attacking his adversaries. To praise all good men as opportunity arose and to excuse, so far as possible, what was less edifying in the story he had to tell, seems to have been John Lynch's rule in the composition of *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*. Later generations are entitled to probe more deeply into the history of those tragic years and to apportion blame more rigorously than he is sometimes inclined to do. But we must all of us admire the spirit of this kindly, scholarly and patriotic Irish priest who, without once consciously violating the double law of truth and charity, compiled a narrative covering some of the most bitterly controversial episodes in Ireland's history.

AUBREY GWYNN

NEW VIEWS ON UNEMPLOYMENT

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

THE Beveridge Report on *Social Insurance and Allied Services*, published in November 1942, assumed as one of the conditions of the successful operation of the scheme which it recommended " the maintenance of employment, that is to say the avoidance of mass unemployment." In May 1944 the British Treasury published a White Paper on *Employment Policy* containing the Government's proposals for " the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment after the war." This White Paper, which was reviewed in STUDIES,[1] failed to satisfy Sir William Beveridge. While admitting that it constitutes " a milestone in economic and political history," he regards its practical proposals as inadequate. Too much reliance, in his opinion, is placed on the owners of industry to maintain and stabilize investment. The private industrialist is advised and exhorted rather than directed and controlled. The proposed variations in social insurance contributions would have only limited effects. Variations in the rate of income tax might produce more substantial results. The financial proposals contained in the White Paper, which are now known to have been prepared by Treasury officials, are criticized as unduly timid. The policy outlined in the White Paper simply amounts to a properly timed programme of public works to compensate fluctuations in private expenditure. It is a policy of stable, but not of full, employment. Unemployment is to be more evenly distributed through time rather than abolished. The White Paper proposals are condemned as being neither practical nor radical. They are not practical, because private and public expenditure are complementary rather than compensatory and because labour is not mobile between private and public employment. They are not radical, because they do not face the problem that considerable unemployment exists at the top of every boom, because sufficient pressure is not applied to the private investor and because budgetary equilibrium is regarded as equally important as full employment. The White Paper contains a palliative not a remedy for unemployment. Sir William Beveridge's dissatisfaction with the Government's proposals led him to conduct an independent inquiry into the causes and cure of unemployment in the Report of which the above criticisms are expressed.[2]

Sir William Beveridge draws attention to the fact that mass unemployment is a relatively modern problem. In the thirty years before the first world war the average rate of unemployment in Great Britain was about

[1] September 1944. p. 305.
[2] *Full Employment in a Free Society; A Report* (Allen and Unwin. 12s. 6d.).

6 per cent. of the working population. In the years 1921–38 the average rate was 14·2 per cent., a significant and alarming increase. The characteristic feature of modern unemployment is that large numbers of workers remain idle at the top of the boom. In addition to cyclical fluctuations there is chronic unemployment. " The facts of unemployment in Britain show that the demand for labour was chronically weak, with always more idle men than vacant jobs, and was extremely unstable, rising and falling perpetually. Spending was insufficient and unstable." The fluctuations in employment, known by economists as the trade cycle, have attracted much attention, in spite of which the problem " cannot yet be regarded as solved." There are, however, in addition to the trade cycle, four other causes of unemployment. First and most important, the total expenditure of the community must be sufficient to create a demand for the whole of the available labour. If the fraction of the national income that is saved is not offset by a corresponding amount of expenditure, there will be a deficiency of demand which will lead to chronic unemployment. Second, demand must be in the right direction in relation to the location of the supply of labour. The deviation of demand from one locality to another may result in structural unemployment in depressed areas. Third, the methods of engaging labour must be such as to promote mobility and to shorten the intervals between jobs. Casual engagement leads to the accumulation of excessive reserves of chronically unemployed labour. Fourth, changes in demand in overseas markets may cause unemployment in the exporting industries. If chronic, as distinguished from cyclical, unemployment is to be abolished, these four causes must be attacked and, if possible, removed. Full employment, not merely stable employment, should be the goal. In the original Beveridge Report an unemployment rate of $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was regarded as constituting full employment. Sir William Beveridge now suggests that, by means of appropriate action, employment could be maintained at 97 per cent. of the working population. The 3 per cent. of unemployment would consist of a shifting body of short-term unemployed caused by seasonal slackness, change of jobs and fluctuations in international trade.

Full employment is defined as " a state of affairs in which there are always more vacant jobs than unemployed men, not slightly fewer jobs." The labour market should be a seller's, not a buyer's, market. The benefits of full employment are fourfold. In the first place, the misery, unhappiness, demoralization and political discontent which unemployment afflicts on the working classes would disappear. " The achieving of full employment would add far more to happiness than to wealth and would add most of all to national unity by removing the misery that generates hate." Secondly, the temptation of trade unions to indulge in restrictionist practices would be far less than at present. The fear of unemployment is responsible for much of the present restriction of output by labour.

Thirdly, labour-saving devices and technical advances would be encouraged if labour was scarce. Fourthly, assuming that the schemes of employment were productive in the widest sense of the word, the national income would be raised by the contribution of otherwise idle resources. It will be generally agreed that full employment is desirable. Furthermore, it must be admitted to be attainable. The totalitarian countries in peacetime and the belligerent countries in wartime have experienced conditions of full employment. The question whether the benefits are worth the price that may have to be paid may be postponed for the moment.

Sir William Beveridge's programme for the attainment of full employment in Great Britain relies principally upon building up total demand. There are two minor measures. The State must possess the right to control the location of new industries in order to prevent the misdirection of demand, and the mobility of labour must be organized to prevent aimless movement, hawking of labour and misdirection of juveniles, while facilitating movement when it is desirable. The main problem is to build up and maintain total outlay equal to the output capacity of the nation. The State may increase total outlay by encouraging private consumption or private investment, by additional public spending out of revenue or from loans, by developing exports or by a combination of these various methods. Private consumption could be increased by a redistribution of incomes from rich to poor. Sir William Beveridge admits that some redistribution is desirable, but thinks that it is not the best method of stimulating demand in a socially desirable direction. His central proposal is " the setting up and execution of a long-term programme of planned outlay, directed by social priorities and designed to secure both expansion and stability in the economic system." One of the practical difficulties of a planned economy is the failure of people to agree on the desirable objects of public expenditure. There are three objectives, Sir William Beveridge suggests, that will command general assent after the war: first, destroying the giant evils of want, disease, ignorance and squalor; second, rejuvenating and expanding the capital equipment of industry; third, balancing payments abroad.

The destruction of the giant evils involves an extensive programme of social services. The destruction of want is the aim of the first Beveridge Report. The destruction of disease calls for a national health service, the destruction of squalor for an extensive housing programme, the destruction of ignorance for improved education. The alleviation of these evils will improve the efficiency of the working population and will raise output and the standard of living. The productive efficiency of the nation could be further increased by improving industrial capital equipment, in which Great Britain has fallen badly behind the United States. To secure that the provision of this new capital takes place steadily, and not in the fits and starts and fluctuations that have marked private investment

in the past, there should be established a National Investment Board with powers of regulating the rate of public and private investment. The improved efficiency of production will help British exports to find markets and thus help in securing the third objective, the balancing of payments abroad. Other measures suggested for this object are the stabilization of the demand for exports, first, by stabilizing the production and marketing of primary products and, second, by trading, as far as possible, with other countries that maintain policies of full employment. Measures may be necessary to reduce imports by exchange control or otherwise. While world-wide multilateral trade is admitted to be the best system, the great difficulties in realizing it may necessitate, at least temporarily, the formation of regional trading agreements based on the acceptance, by all the countries taking part, of the three fundamental conditions of multilateral trade: full employment, balancing of international accounts and stability of international commercial policy.

The maintenance of the outlay of the community will necessitate a new type of budget, designed to influence and guide the economic activities of the whole nation. The new budget is to be made in reference to the available manpower; it is to be a "human budget". "The Minister for Finance, after estimating how much, assuming full employment and under the taxation he proposes, private citizens may be expected to lay out in the year on consumption and private investment, must propose for that year public outlay sufficient, with this estimated private outlay, to employ the whole manpower of the country." This decision involves a break with two of the main principles of "orthodox" finance: that State expenditure should be kept down to the minimum and that the budget should balance annually. The State can raise the money required to supplement private outlay by taxation or by borrowing. Sir William Beveridge prefers taxation to borrowing for two rather novel reasons. In the first place, borrowing increases the number of rentiers, that is to say of people having legal claims against the community which enable them to live without working. Secondly, borrowing enables the Government to escape the unpopular task of taxing and increases the opportunities of general political bribery. While taxation is preferable to borrowing, borrowing is a lesser evil than unemployment. "To submit to unemployment or slums or want, to let children go hungry or the sick and old untended, for fear of increasing the internal national debt, is to lose all sense of proportion." The first and overriding object is the maintenance of outlay. "This is a categorical imperative taking precedence over all other rules and over-riding them if they are in conflict with it." If private outlay falls short, public outlay must supplement it. The programme can be briefly described as the socialization of demand.

Sir William Beveridge's programme for providing full employment in Great Britain is based upon new developments of theoretical economic

analysis. Since the publication of Keynes's *General Theory of Employment Interest and Money* in 1936 considerable discussion has taken place among economists about chronic, as distinguished from cyclical, unemployment. The results of this discussion are summarized in a book entitled *The Economics of Full Employment*[1] prepared by the Oxford University Institute of Statistics. This book is stated by *The Economist*[2] to contain "what is perhaps the first consistent attempt to develop, in rigorous scientific terms, the body of theoretical doctrine lying behind Sir William Beveridge's report." Attention may be profitably directed to some of the principal points in this important work.

Economic theory regarding unemployment has passed through three stages. The classical economists believed that all the factors of production would find employment provided that wages and interest rates were flexible. They assumed that all savings were absorbed in the creation of capital. If these assumptions were correct, it follows that saving changes the direction but not the total volume of expenditure, and that labour will be fully employed apart from frictional unemployment, the amount of which will depend upon the degree of mobility of labour. The solution of unemployment would involve the discussion of wage rates and mobility. Experience showed, however, that unemployment in fact increased and decreased during periods of good and bad trade and that, in slump conditions, large non-frictional unemployment existed. This experience led to the study of the trade cycle. In more recent times it began to become apparent that the forces of expansion in the upward phase of the cycle are not strong enough to absorb all the unemployed. Even at the top of the boom there are large idle resources. This gave rise to the study of chronic unemployment, which is neither frictional nor cyclical. A medical analogy may help to illustrate the difference between the different stages. A healthy man may need the occasional attention of his doctor for minor functional disorders. That is the first stage. A person may have a recurrent illness which comes at regular intervals, but he is quite well between these recurrent attacks. That is the second stage. Finally a person may be in chronic bad health, but may have recurrent attacks as well. His health now fluctuates at a low, not at a high, level. In his case, his doctor must distinguish between the causes of his temporary ups and downs and those of his general low condition. To revert to economics, the study of the trade cycle is concerned with the community's ups and downs, its good and bad days. The modern study of chronic unemployment is concerned with its generally low and unhealthy condition.

The analysis of chronic unemployment is based upon the relation between spending and saving. A community, like an individual, as it grows richer tends to save a greater fraction of its total income. If the amount saved is not offset by an equivalent amount spent either on con-

[1] Oxford, Blackwell. 12s. 6d. [2] 11 November 1944.

sumers' goods or on investment, there is a deficiency of total demand. In these conditions an additional demand generated by private or public expenditure does not cause a rise in prices until the factors of production are fully employed. In order to understand the relation between saving and the offsets to saving it becomes important to analyse the propensities to save, to consume and to invest. Generally speaking the propensity to save varies with income. A rich man saves more than a poor man. A community growing richer tends to save more. If the conception of borrowing be widened (as it rightly may be) to include the case of the saver using his own savings, it may be said that the generation of off-setting expenditure depends upon the propensity to borrow by private borrowers and by public authorities. Private borrowing may be for consumption. It is, however, mainly for investment, because the capacity to repay generally depends upon the borrowed sum being used to create income-earning assets. Decisions to invest depend upon a number of variables, for example the expectation of profit, the rate of interest and the degree of borrowers' and lenders' risks. Many of these variables are fluctuating and sensitive. Business psychology is frequently irrational. Successive moods of optimism and pessimism brighten and darken the investment outlook. There is no reason why the amount spent by the innumerable borrowers should equal the amount saved by the innumerable savers. But, if the amount spent is less than the amount saved, there arises a deficiency of total demand causing unemployment. If this deficiency of demand becomes habitual, the unemployment will become chronic.

The demonstration that an economic system may come to rest at an equilibrium short of full employment necessitates a revision of classical economic theory. " The recognition that the free play of the market, that business left to itself, cannot be relied on to produce and to maintain full utilization of the available labour represents a revolution in economic thought and has very far-reaching implications indeed." Free enterprise can no longer be trusted to maximize the volume of production. There is therefore a *prima facie* case for intervention by the State. There are three ways in which the State can generate offsets to saving in order to increase effective demand. In the first place the State may encourage private investment by influencing some of the variables that determine the propensity to invest. It may, for example, force down the rate of interest. The scope of such encouragement is now generally regarded as limited. Business men are not responsive to such influences, and, in any event, the wisdom of investment depends largely on the future demand for consumers' goods. The demand for capital is always a derived demand. The second type of State policy aims at increasing the demand for consumers' goods. The State by spending more than its current revenue can add to the total expenditure of the community. It can add directly to consumption by providing family allowances or subsidizing the price of

articles in general consumption or it can add indirectly by undertaking schemes of public investment. The third method of attacking deficiency of demand is by redistributing income from rich to poor. Such redistribution reduces saving and increases consumption. It must be effected, however, very cautiously lest the incentive to invest be weakened. The State by a judicious mixture of these three devices—encouragement of private investment, deficit expenditure and redistributive taxation—can produce full employment. The reliance placed on deficit expenditure is a recognition of the fact that the principles of private finance are not all applicable to public finance. What the State spends as agent for the community accrues to the community (apart from leakages through imports). Moreover the propriety of State expenditure is not determined by considerations of profitability. The budget of a firm and the budget of a nation should be constructed on different principles.

If these financial doctrines sound revolutionary, it is because they are corollaries of the revolution in economic analysis. As long as the classical assumption of full employment was valid, the maxims of orthodox Gladstonian finance were unassailable. So long as full employment was assumed, private and public expenditure were competitive. In those conditions it was right that the budget should be balanced, that taxation should be designed not to reduce the volume of saving, and that State expenditure should be incurred only on productive capital. If the classical employment assumption was correct, it was sound policy to leave money, as the saying was, to fructify in the pockets of the people. But when conditions of oversaving appear, the money may produce no fruit. The pockets have become sterile soil. In a society suffering from a deficiency of total demand, consumption and investment are not competitive but, up to the point when full employment is reached, complementary. A reduction of consumption does not increase, but may actually reduce, investment. Public and private expenditure are also, up to a point, complementary rather than competitive. The State can therefore increase the national income without inflation by spending beyond its current revenue. The sanctity of the balanced budget is dethroned.

The objects of State expenditure must be determined by some general agreement regarding social priorities. Assuming that the difficulty of finding agreement on these priorities is surmounted—apart from the solutions of war or totalitarianism—the State can maintain full employment either with a balanced or with an unbalanced budget. If it is desired to keep the budget balanced, drastic taxation will be necessary. Such taxation should be redistributive in character. If carried too far, it may depress the incentive to invest and to work and may lead to an elaborate apparatus of evasion. That these are real dangers is shown by experience during the war. Reliance on borrowing for some part of the State expenditure must therefore be assumed. The principal objections to a rising national

debt are, first, that it creates unearned incomes and money claims on the community and, second, that it tends to increase inequality of distribution. On the assumptions that the national income is expanding, that the debt is all internal, that interest rates are low and that rates of direct taxation are high, even a large increase in national debt need not prove unduly onerous to the public finances. The application of the new economic theory in the financial field calls for the framing of a new set of budgetary rules. The first rule is that every tax should be considered primarily in its effect upon the propensities to save, to invest and to consume. The second rule is that taxation should be used to alter the size of the " unclaimed margin " of unused resources. The third rule is that whatever unclaimed margin remains after taxation has done its work should be diverted to communal purposes by means of deficit finance. Estimates should be made of the total outlay required to provide full employment, of the volumes of private outlay on consumption and investment likely to be forthcoming under conditions of full employment and of essential and desirable State expenditure. State outlay added to private outlay should result in a total commensurate with full employment. The human budget should be the means of socializing demand.

Sir William Beveridge's programme for full employment is based upon the new economic analysis of chronic unemployment. This analysis is internally consistent and its assumptions are doubtless true of modern Britain in peacetime. A policy based upon it would therefore possess sound theoretical foundations. It must be remembered, however, that every economic theory is relative. Just as the classical conclusions became invalid when the classical assumptions ceased to be true, the conclusions of the new economic theory would be invalid if the assumptions on which it is based were not realized. The new theory postulates the simultaneous existence of over-saving and unemployment. The theory is relevant only in communities where these conditions exist. It would have no relevance in war or in the preparation for war, when the problems that confront society are undersaving and shortage of labour. Nor would it be relevant in the immediate postwar period when the release of pent-up demand may, if uncontrolled, bring about an inflationary boom. It is not relevant in backward, overseas, colonial countries which need for their development capital which they are unable to provide out of their own savings. These countries require loans from richer and more advanced countries. Such loans, which must be made in the form of exports, would help to solve the unemployment problem in the lending countries. In the United States there are two schools of thought on the solution of unemployment after the war: that which relies on public expenditure and that which relies on exports. The British and American attitudes towards exports are strikingly different. In Great Britain exports are regarded as a necessary evil, the price that has to be paid for essential

imports. In the United States exports are regarded as a means of providing employment. It is because the United States has, in the past, made the repayment of its external loans difficult by discouraging imports that the American export drive has been described as " exporting unemployment". It is generally agreed that the maintenance of world economic prosperity after the war will depend largely upon the willingness of the United States to accept imports in repayment of its foreign loans. *The Times*[1] recently stated that it is " the hard but inescapable truth that an America which sought to achieve full employment by increasing exports without an equal or greater countervailing increase in imports would in the long run not only jeopardise her own hopes of prosperity but drive the rest of the world to economic chaos and despair." There are other countries that export, not their unemployment, but their unemployed. In an advanced industrial country in which reliance for investment is left mainly to private enterprise, in periods that are not stimulated by war by the preparation of war or by the aftermath of war, the new analysis appears correct and, assuming that no great development of exports is possible, the new policy is therefore appropriate.

The political problems raised by the proposed method of ensuring full employment are, possibly, more serious than the purely economic ones. It is obvious from the short account given above of Sir William Beveridge's Report and of the Oxford Institute book that the proposed employment programme involves a very great extension of public interference with individual freedom. The economic system that provides full employment must necessarily be to a large extent a planned economy, and the question arises whether the dangers to liberty threatened by planning can be avoided. The dangers of planning form the subject of a remarkable book recently reviewed in these columns.[2] On this very subject of unemployment Professor Hayek says : " That no single purpose must be allowed in peace to have absolute preference over all others applies even to the one aim which everybody now agrees comes in the front rank—the conquest of unemployment. There can be no doubt that this must be the goal of our greatest endeavour ; even so it does not mean that such an aim should be allowed to dominate us to the exclusion of everything else, that, as the glib phrase runs, it must be accomplished ' at any price '." Sir William Beveridge admits that " the essential British liberties " are " even more precious than full employment." It is worth while to examine the extent of interference with individual freedom that the proponents of the new policy regard as essential for the success of their plans.

That Sir William Beveridge is uneasy about the political criticism of his proposals appears from the title of his book which emphasizes that full employment is to be realized " in a free society". He states

[1] 8 January 1945.
[2] Hayek : *The Road to Serfdom*, reviewed in STUDIES, June 1944, p. 210.

that his Report " is not concerned simply with the problem of full employment. It is concerned with the necessity, possibility and methods of achieving full employment in a free society, that is to say subject to the proviso that all essential citizen liberties are preserved. This proviso excludes the totalitarian solution of full employment in a society completely planned and regimented by an irremovable dictator. It makes the problem of full employment more complex in many ways." The danger is that the complexity of providing full employment with free institutions may lead to the freedom being sacrificed to the employment. No doubt Sir William Beveridge, as befits a member of the Liberal Party, is sincere in his belief that his proposals are compatible with free institutions. It is however plain that they involve a considerable extension of State activity. " To ask for full employment while objecting to the necessary extensions of State activity is to will the end and refuse the means." It is suggested that the necessity for continuity ot economic policy requires some revision of parliamentary procedure. The problems connected with pressure by labour organizations for higher wages when the threat of unemployment is removed are discussed but not convincingly solved. There will have to be a certain amount of pressure to force labour in the desired direction and in the choice of a career. Sir William Beveridge admits that " making the labour market a seller's instead of a buyer's market is a revolution which gives a new turn to every problem." In his attempt to meet the criticism that conditions of full employment will create difficulties in regard to wage pressure and industrial discipline he appeals to the sense of responsibility and the public spirit of the working classes. It is by no means self-evident, however, that the abolition of unemployment will produce a change of heart in the average trade unionist. The activities of the National Investment Board are admittedly hard to reconcile with the private ownership of industry. Sir William Beveridge frankly states the views of those who hold that a policy of full employment is impossible without the socialization of the more important forms of production, but sweeps them aside as " to a large extent outside the scope of this Report". The socialization of production is regarded with composure if it should be found to be necessary. " Whether private ownership of means of production to be operated by others is a good economic device or not, it must be judged as a device. It is not an essential citizen liberty in Britain . . . . If it should be shown by experience or by argument that abolition of private property in the means of production was necessary for full employment, this abolition would have to be undertaken." Foreign trade must also be controlled by the Government. " We probably cannot leave either imports or exports to the unregulated working of the market economy." It is obvious that Sir William Beveridge, for all his liberal bias, is prepared to travel a long way along the path to socialism. Indeed he admits that " to set up effective demand constantly outrunning our resources for

production can be done only by substituting a planned economy for the unplanned market economy of the past."

The authors of the Oxford Institute book are less insistent than Sir William Beveridge on the compatibility of their proposals with individual freedom. They have not to maintain their reputation as Liberal M.Ps. They admit that a programme of full employment necessitates the control of foreign trade, a wide measure of control over prices to avoid inflationary wage increases, control of private investment and control of the location of industry. They further admit that " to be effective, price control may involve the type of control of production and distribution which is to be seen in the wartime utility schemes." The machinery of government will need to be improved and extended if these new functions of the State are to be properly administered. A vastly increased statistical service will be necessary. The coordination between the central and local authorities may lead to a reduction of the powers of local authorities. Indeed it is doubtful how far parliamentary government, as it existed in the past, will stand the strain of this increasing bureaucracy. " It may be that the present local and national parliamentary procedures are not adequate to cope with all the economic and political issues, which in the past have either not arisen or have been settled outside the field of public affairs, but which now must be brought fully into the light of democratic discussion. Of their very nature and in the means by which they can be finally determined social priorities are essentially political." It is not an exaggeration to suggest that the authors of the Oxford Institute book, while assuming that " the essentials of the capitalist system are to be preserved as far as possible," envisage with complacency far-reaching changes in the direction of a planned, if not a socialist, economy.

There is no doubt that full employment can be maintained in a community that is prepared to will that end and to will the means of attaining it. Full employment is maintained in war because the prosecution of the war is the supreme end of all activity. It has already been explained, in an earlier article in STUDIES[1], that the difference between war and peace arises from the difference in the urgencies of the desire for victory and for the achievements of peace. There is no doubt that every community would like to abolish unemployment from its midst. The question is whether that desire is strong enough to awaken the energy necessary to attain it. Sir William Beveridge gives an affirmative reply in a passage which is worth quoting at length :—

> We cure unemployment in war, because war gives us a common objective that is recognised by all, an objective so vital that it must be attained without regard to cost in life, leisure, privileges or material resources. The cure of unemployment in peace depends on finding a common objective for peace that will be equally compelling on our efforts. . . . We cure unemployment in war through hate of Hitler ; we ought to cure it in peace through hate of the giant evils of Want, Disease,

[1] *Economic Visions and Revisions*, June 1942, p. 211.

Ignorance and Squalor. We should make these in peace our common enemy, changing the direction and the speed rather than the concentration and strength of our effort when the fighting ends. Whether we can do this depends upon the degree to which social conscience becomes the driving force in our national life. We should regard Want, Disease, Ignorance and Squalor as common enemies of all of us, not as enemies with whom each individual may seek a separate peace, escaping himself to personal prosperity while leaving his fellows in their clutches. That is the meaning of social conscience ; that one should refuse to make a separate peace with social evil. Social conscience, when the barbarous tyranny abroad has ended, should drive us to take up different arms in a new war against social evils at home.

If any society can be converted to share these admirable sentiments the attack on unemployment will not be long delayed. It must be admitted, unfortunately, that the development of so tender a social conscience can, by no means, be taken for granted in a tired and war-weary world. It is easy to exaggerate the enthusiasm of society for its own improvement. If the end be willed, the economist can indicate the means. But here the question arises whether the only successful means do not involve an undue cost in political liberty. Professor Hayek utters a warning that " individual freedom cannot be reconciled with the supremacy of one single purpose to which the whole society must be entirely and permanently subordinated." The sole exception to this rule is war, " when subordination of almost everything to the immediate and pressing need is the price at which we preserve our freedom in the long run." The analogy between war and peace is invalid because " it is sensible temporarily to sacrifice freedom in order to make it more secure in the future, but the same cannot be said for a system proposed as a permanent arrangement."[1] Sir William Beveridge's programme definitely establishes full employment as the supreme and overriding end of social policy. There is room for considerable difference of opinion about the degree to which full employment and political liberty are compatible. There can be no question that the maintenance of full employment by the type of policy which the new economic analysis regards as appropriate involves considerable restriction of individual freedom. The analysis of the classical economists justified an economic theory which logically led to liberal policies. The analysis of the Keynesian school justifies a theory which leads with equal logic in the opposite direction. The problem that will demand a practical solution is how to introduce the necessary central controls without sacrifice of political democracy and with an absolute minimum of interference with personal liberty and initiative.

GEORGE O'BRIEN

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 152–3.

ROMAN VIRGIL

BY JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

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AMID the loud orchestration of war and world events to-day it might seem but a feeble, far-off shepherd's reed that pipes the announcement of a Virgil Society established in war-time Britain. Yet, in the realm of thought and cultural ideals, the event is not without its significance. More even than anything it may achieve is what it stands for.

The Virgil Society is no association of savants and scholars, though many of its members deserve these epithets. Virgil, in the eyes of its members, is a symbolic figure, representing the long tradition of European culture. That tradition incorporated much that was noble and abiding in the experiences both of Greece and Rome and handed this on, purified, illuminated, quickened with a fresh spirit, within the framework of what once was Christendom. What the world has known and treasured as European culture is just this heritage of Rome and Greece, preserved and enriched through Christianity. Europe has never known, and never will know, another such culture. If this were to go, then the name, indeed the very reality, of Europe would have departed with it. The old Christendom has passed, but the notion of a common European culture remains —neglected all too often, sometimes violently opposed and repudiated, but still a powerful force for the formation and uniting of European men and women. To-day this common culture is being challenged more radically than ever before : challenged at home by new ideas in education and social life ; challenged abroad in the fierce conflict of ideologies which, with all their dreams of New Orders and Utopias here below, would do away with what we have known as European culture and European man.

The Virgil Society is symbolic. It represents a defence of what is sound and " traditional," in the best sense, in education and literature ; it emphasizes the need of classical studies in schools and universities ; it urges the integration of the older European values in the twentieth century outlook on human life and problems which is being born to-day amid such cruel travail.

Of the Virgil Society I shall say no more than that it has held a series of meetings. Admirable papers have been read and circulated ; there has been useful discussion. On its external side, also, it has proved a very successful venture.

One of the Joint Secretaries of the Society, Mr. W. F. Jackson Knight, who is Reader in Classical Literature in University College of the South West at Exeter, published recently his fourth volume on Virgilian studies.[1] The first edition was sold out very rapidly—no ordinary phenomenon

[1] *Roman Virgil.* London : Faber and Faber. 1944. Pp. viii, 348. 15s. n.

with what is genuinely a work of scholarship. This I know from experience, as I tried to buy a copy, not many weeks after the date of publication, from three of the largest London booksellers. The answer in every case, courteous but not of immediate assistance to me, was that the book was being reprinted because of the surprisingly high demand for it. I did eventually secure a copy—from a smaller shop in our London " street of the booksellers," Charing Cross Road.

There are excellent things in Mr. Jackson Knight's book. And it is safe to say that no classical scholar can ignore his patient and revealing commentary on Virgilian words, metaphors and imagery. Chapter V, containing just over a hundred pages, has the general heading : Language, Verse and Style. One might ask whether it is wise to divide your volume into chapters as long as treatises ; and generally the suggestion might be made that the book would have been easier in the reading, had it been more carefully divided and sub-divided. This particular chapter, the most detailed in the book, supposes a considerable knowledge of Latin and some previous understanding of Virgil's poetry. It is certainly no introduction to the poet ; it is rather as though you were getting to know intimately someone who had been an acquaintance and neighbour for half a lifetime.

Mr. Jackson Knight stresses the Virgilian use of words, as in the familiar lines :

Sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi,
Sunt lacrimae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt (Aen. 1, 461-2).

Here *rerum* is the keyword—*rerum* from *res*, that solid word, which Theodor Haecker has called the *Herzwort* of Latin speech, conveying all that is covered in German by the words *Ding* and *Sache* and *Sein*. Aeneas, arriving in Carthage, sees portrayed on the doors of a temple that is being built the struggles and sufferings of his own Trojan people. Then come these two lines. The author interprets them as follows, insisting that all this meaning is compressed in them : " There is no denying that even in this far land honour gets its due, and they can weep at human tragedy ; the world has tears as a constituent part of it, and so have our own lives, hopeless and weary ; and the thought how things have always their own death in them breaks our hearts and wills and clouds our vision." As Haecker has shown, it is no question of sentiment but of ontology. The poet is tragic because human life is tragic, because there are these *lacrimae rerum*, and the pagan knew not how to resolve them. Indeed, so caught is Virgil by this sense of the tragic rhythm of human existence that the very last line of his Aeneid ends on this sad and tragic note. The spirit of the slain Latin chieftain, Turnus, hovers for a moment, frustrated and rebellious, before departing to the shadowy realms below :

Vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras (Aen. xii, 952).

He studies Virgil's use of sound, which is vigorous and obvious in the well-known line *Quadripedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum* (Aen. viii, 596)—" with a four-foot clatter the hooves (of horses) crumbled and quaked the plain "—where " the dactyls render speed, the heterodyne with accents on short syllables a kind of tumbled confusion, and the *u* sounds a dark dull thudding noise, expressing the sound of hooves on soil ". Or in the clash of vowels and consonants in the line *Exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum* (*Aen.* ii, 313)—" then there arose shouting from men and blare from trumpets ".[2] " Characteristically Latin," writes Mr. Jackson Knight,

> in repetition of words, and characteristically Virgilian in their exactly and delicately modulated sadness, are two passages where *e* sounds are used. One is a hero's death in battle, *Te nemus Angitiae, vitrea te Fucinus unda, te liquidi flevere lacus* (Aen. vii, 759-80), " Sad for you, Angitia's forest, the Fucine lake, so glassy, with just a wave, and those translucent meres, they wept for you." The five long *e* sounds are made distant and soft in sadness by the seven sounds of *i*. In *Te veniente die, te decedente canebat* (Georgics, iv, 466), " Of you (Eurydice), he (Orpheus) still was singing, as the day came, as the day departed, too," the *e's* are more self-dependent. Of fifteen syllables, eleven have *e's*. The sadness, accordingly, is richer, warmer, nearer. This effect is quite certain, and habitual in Virgil ; but here it is applied more strongly than anywhere else. In both these quotations the metre is entirely regular, and not even in any way unusual."[3]

Now for one extract which notes the blending of sound and imagery. The passage chosen is from the Sixth Book (191-2), where two doves of Venus are guiding Aeneas to the Golden Bough, *Ipsa sub ora viri caelo venere volantes, et viridi sedere solo*—" right up to his eyes, they came, came flying from the sky, and settled where the ground was green." The author comments : " Down and straight, down and straight again they flew, and up, and alighted, all softly, as birds of Venus should. You can see and hear them. Virgil has found the full use for the music of his brain."[4]

This is just magpie work, selecting here and there a twig from the spreading leafage of Mr. Jackson Knight's study. But I cannot resist citing something from his analysis of the use of light and colour throughout the *Aeneid*. Here are one or two passages :—

> The colours in the second book during the last night of Troy are sharper and stronger, and they are a great part of that book's majesty. Mainly, there is an alternation of black darkness in the lost city with sudden scenes of bright or blazing light. There is clear moonlight, which Virgil is artist enough to forget when black dark is needed ; sometimes the hot red glare of the burning, the colour of the flames speaking of the blood that is being shed ; and once there is the lovely, kindly sunlight of home, the home of the Eclogues, and of heaven, the heaven that the sixth book is to proclaim ; and it shines out on Aeneas when his own divine mother

[2] Jackson Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
[3] *op. cit.*, p. 243.
[4] *op. cit.*, p. 208-9.

comes to save him in all the murk, and the blood, and the glare. There are more changes too ; a different light in the home of Aeneas when he tries to persuade his family to come with him ; a new light in the sky when a shooting star foretells hope for them ; then dark again, in their flight ; a gleam of arms ; and a ghostly light, matching high, thin vowels, when the wraith of the lost Creusa, his wife, appears to Aeneas ; and last the new fresh cleansing light of dawn, when the morning star rises, and life begins anew out of death. . . . .

The sixth book is richer in colour (than the fifth), with great variation at first ; then a steady dark gleam like sea depths or woods in a weak moon, ghostly, grim ; and later the bright, pure sunshine of heaven, with white-robed figures of saints and heroes, yet to live, or whose life is done.

In the second half of the Aeneid the tonality in enriched. There are stately homes, rich fighting dress and armour, colourful ships, colourful birds, and the blood of battle. How rich and vital, we say, was the Italy which Aeneas found. Then comes the end ; and perhaps nowhere else do tones of colour and light take such great part in the message that Virgil tells.[5]

Virgil was a supreme artist. He wrote slowly and with exceeding carefulness. It took him seven years (37-30 B.C.) to complete the four books of Georgics—that is, at an average rate of less than one line a day. But into his poetic work went all the husbanded harvest of a cultured mind. His quiet detachment from active life enabled him to illuminate life and its deeper problems with a steadier and more certain light. Habitual restraint in his verse allowed him now and then to flash forth explosively in short, stabbing phrases—so cleanly-cut, yet heavy-laden with the energy of thought and passion. His words and lines suggest so much more than they declare. There cling to them associations, assonances, like water gently purling beneath thick foliage or the stirring of memories long forgotten. His epic verse is never for very long the sheer epic of narration. The force with which it is charged gathers to a dramatic tension, as frequently in Books ii, iv and vi of the Aeneid, and throughout the latter half. And occasionally, as though it were a melody rising from the massed violins of an orchestra, the lines soar aloft in a breath-taking lyric that gives a reality and a poignancy to the poem such as perhaps no other epic writer has ever had.

Mr. Jackson Knight has a theory to offer of this special sensitiveness, almost " suggestiveness " of Virgilian poetry. He finds it in the application to Virgil of the psychology of Jung, according to which conscious work is the elaboration of subconscious and unconscious activity, particularly of the stored-up experiences of races and peoples. This kind of poetic interpretation has been applied by Professor John Livingston Lowes to Coleridge—attracted thereto, no doubt, by Coleridge's own account of the composition of *Kubla Khan*.[6] A similar method has been used to explain Virgil, by Professor E. K. Rand.[7] The argument is that all creative

[5] *op. cit.*, pp. 177-8.
[6] *The Road to Xanada.* By John Livingston Lowes. New York. 1933.
[7] *The Magical Art of Virgil.* By E. K. Rand. Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1931.

effort is the result of unconscious activity within the mind of the creator. Mr. Jackson Knight puts this theory in various forms, *e.g.*,—

> The truth is that poetry is normally generated from the storage, in William James's " deep well of unconscious cerebration," of impressions, which like " hooked atoms," according to M. Poincaré, combine of themselves, and find new meanings which ultimately are expressed in a new poem. This process, which I call " integration," in distinction from conscious " composition," is the method of all genius, and specially belongs to the suggestive kind of poetry.[8]

The mention of the " suggestive kind of poetry," in the last line of this quotation, needs to be explained. Mr. Jackson Knight divides poetry into two classes : the *intellectual* kind, that is, Greek and French poetry, with some exceptions, especially the poetry of Villon and Ronsard and, later, of the Romantics ; this depends on meanings *internal* to words and phrases : in the second place, the *suggestive* kind, mainly Latin, German and English poetry ; these, he thinks, depend on meanings *external* to the words themselves, " which the words themselves, especially in their unexpected combinations, and their sound and rhythm, induce, evoke, create, or otherwise make apparent ".[9]

Virgil's method, writes Mr. Jackson Knight, was like that of many of the greatest poets. He read, he studied, he reflected. Words, sounds and rhythms remained in his mind and sank into his unconscious self.

> As Virgil read, and thought, and watched, and felt, impressions from life and letters sank into his memory and combined, unseen. Meanwhile, he worked and planned, and decided at least what he thought that he wanted to do, however much the wayward poetic drive might distort his human planning. But the planning itself was contributing to the unconscious integration. " Take care of the conscious," is a psychologist's advice, " and the unconscious will look after itself." It is not all mad, mysterious, automatic, or fortuitous. Hard thinking, facing facts, planning, and reasoning, were just as important in the unconscious centre of Virgil's creation as old heard melodies, not understood, but caught and held ; lovely, but with little meaning that we, or Virgil either, could have defined.[10]

Yet Mr. Jackson Knight is up against the awkward fact that Virgil was the most deliberate and painstaking of poets. Seven years the Georgics demanded, at the rate of less than one line per day. If the creative poet be distinguished, as Dr. I. A. Richards thinks,[11] by his greater psychological vigilance and awareness and by his readiness to accept impressions, whence this slow and sorry time-lag in composition ? A great part of Mr. Jackson Knight's work consists in showing how incidents in Homer, the Greek tragedians, and the Latin epic poets have been transmuted through the especial sensitiveness of Publius Virgilius Maro.

But the title of Mr. Jackson Knight's book, and of this article, is *Roman Virgil*. Let us get back to that.

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[8] *op. cit.*, p. 27.
[9] *op. cit.*, p. 26.
[10] *op. cit.*, p. 81.
[11] *The Principles of Literary Criticism.* 1934. *c.f.* pp. 183-5, 204, 248.

The *Romanità* of Virgil is to be found in his great epic, the *Aeneid*. Virgil lives because of this and because of its extraordinary influence on all subsequent ages, pagan and Christian.

The *Aeneid* needed, of course, its years of preparation. Virgil was born in 71 or 70 B.C. in the village of Andes, not far from Mantua, in Northern Italy. His family had been settled there for several generations; he was Latin, though possibly with some Etruscan connections. At the age of twelve he went to study grammar and letters in Cremona. When he was fifteen he transferred to Milan, and shortly afterwards he proceeded to Rome with the intention of giving himself to rhetoric and the Roman bar. Meanwhile, Roman history was being made. Julius Caesar crossed the Rubicon in 49 B.C. The next year saw the battle of Pharsalus. Virgil now retired south to Campania and Naples, where most of his subsequent life was to be spent. Caesar's campaigns continued: in Africa, with the victory of Thapsus in 46, and in Spain, with that of Munda in 45. He was assassinated in 44. The triumvirate followed—of Octavian, Anthony and Lepidus—with the defeat of the Republicans in 42 at Philippi. From 42 until 31 Virgil experienced the uneasy years before the "liquidation" of Anthony at Actium in 31 B.C.

While history was being made, Virgil reflected. Much of his time was passed in the Garden academy of philosophy, founded by Phaedus and continued by eminent men like Philodemus and Siro. Between 42 and 40 the *Eclogues* were composed. Then came the longer apprenticeship to the *Georgics* (37-30)—a poem of remarkable perfection of style and thought. Now the way was prepared for some larger literary achievement. Virgil was by this time widely known and respected. Many were his friends. Among them was Cornelius Gallus, a brilliant but erratic person, who was entrusted by Augustus with the administration of Egypt. There he acted imprudently, was recalled and committed suicide. Virgil's tenth Eclogue is a charming tribute to Gallus, and there is a tradition that Virgil altered the concluding portions of the fourth Georgic, originally consecrated to the memory of Gallus, because of the displeasure they might have given to Augustus. Others of his friends were Gaius Asinius Pollio, addressed in the fourth ("Messianic") Eclogue; Lucius Valerius Massalla and Plotius Tucca. Horace speaks of Virgil as an *anima candida*[12] and refers to his *ingenium molle atque facetum*;[13] the expression *anima candida* occurs in Horace's description of a journey undertaken together by Maecenas, Virgil, Varius, Plotius Tucca and Horace, which took them as far as Brundisium. Sextus Aurelius Propertius foretold the glories of Virgil's *Aeneid* before it was published, and claimed that it would eclipse the epics of Homer.[14]

[12] *Satires*. I.v, 41-2, meaning "a character sincere and genuine."
[13] *Satires*. I.x, 44-5—or "a mind sensitive, tender and expressive."
[14] Propertius. II.xxxiv, 65-6. *Cedite, Romani scriptores, cedite, Graii,*
Nescio quid majus nascitur Iliade.

Early in his literary career Virgil had toyed with the notion of a large-scale epic on the history of Rome. Playfully he tells us, at the beginning of the sixth Eclogue, that the Muse had taken him by the ear and warned him away from such lofty themes.[15]

Later he returned to this project—encouraged, no doubt, by the personal interest of Augustus and his own growing reputation. There are signs, however, that the plan of the *Aeneid* was slowly maturing in his mind long before the completion of the *Georgics*. Indeed, if the fourteenth and last poem of the Catalepton is genuinely Virgilian, as is quite probable, he was then planning, as early as 45 B.C., " to make Trojan Aeneas travel in poetry through Italian cities."[16] Probably the reference is to his first epic experiment, referred to by Donatus, some of which is certainly incorporated in *Aeneid*, book III. There is one detailed mention in the *Georgics*, where Virgil announces that he will bring home his poetic genius to his native town of Mantua and there establish a shrine in honour of Augustus.[17]

The story of the *Aeneid* is familiar. Aeneas, after the collapse of Troy, escapes from Asia with his family and followers ; they build a fleet, perhaps of twenty ships ;[18] they sail first to Thrace, then to Delos, where a voice from the temple of Apollo warns them to " seek their ancient mother". This is interpreted as Crete. Arrived in Crete, Aeneas is warned in a vision of the household gods of Troy that Crete is not the home that is meant ; they must sail further to the West. And so they go—to Actium, where they celebrate the " Actian games " ; to Buthrothum in Chaonia, where Helenus, a Trojan prince, and Andromache, Hector's wife, have established a Trojan colony ; then to Sicily, where Anchises, the father of Aeneas, dies. Setting sail for Italy, they are driven by storms on to the North African coast, where they discover a growing Tyrian city under its queen, Dido. The incident of Aeneas and Dido provides a love story of devotion, romance and separation. Then back to Sicily (Book V), to Italy, where they land first at Cumae, just North of the bay of Naples, where the coast-line sweeps towards Gaeta from the twin islands of Ischia and Procida (Book VI). From the dread lake of Avernus, over the hill from Cumae, Aeneas descends into the netherworld, meets his father, Anchises, and sees the glory that is to belong to his people after they shall have settled on Italian soil. Landing further North—possibly not far from the Anzio beachhead of more modern history—they receive permission from Latinus,

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[15] Eclogues vi, 3-5. *Cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem*
Vellit et admonuit : Pastores, Tityre, pingues
Pascere oportet oves, deductum dicere carmen.
Donatus tells us in his fourth century biography of Virgil that the poet commenced an epic story of the history of Rome, but, *offensus materia et nominum asperitate*, abandoned it.

[16] Catalepton XIV, 3-4. *Troius Aeneas Romana per oppida digno*
Jam tandem ut tecum carmine vectus eat.

[17] Book III, 10-48, *c.f.* especially 10-16 and 34-6.

[18] *Aeneid*, i, 381.

king of the Latin people, to occupy a strip of land. Aeneas is engaged to the king's daughter. She had been formerly promised in marriage to Turnus, chieftain of the Rutulians. Turnus, with the help of Amata, Latinus's queen, rebelled, gathered tribes and allies. Aeneas and his companions find themselves at war with the local Italian levies. Warned in a vision, he goes for assistance to Evander, an Arcadian Greek, now settled on what was later to be the site of Rome itself. The war ebbed and flowed. Aeneas returns from his visit to the Greek leader to find the camp of his followers heavily assailed. The attack is repelled. Many of the most attractive characters of the *Aeneid* fall in battle, among them Pallas, Evander's only son, and the friends Nisus and Euryalus. A truce is declared, but conflict flares up again. Finally the goddess Juno, the enemy of Troy and the Trojans, relents and agrees, with Jupiter, that Aeneas and Latinus shall reign together. The war ends, but not before Turnus is slain at the hands of Aeneas. It is implied that Aeneas marries Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, and is to found the city of Lavinium; that he would die, three years later, leaving his son Iulus or, according to another form of the story, his posthumous son by Lavinia to establish the city of Alba Longa high above the waters of the Latin Lake and under the shadow of Mons Albanus.[19] It was from Alba Longa, in the traditional year 753 B.C., that Romulus and Remus would lay the foundation of Rome.

That is the fullest form of the Roman myth, as elaborated and given its touches of consummate artistry by Virgil. It is, in a special sense, the epic of Rome. There gleam through its legendary texture visions of Roman achievement, as in the prophecy of Roman greatness, from Anchises, towards the end of Book VI and in the *non enarrabile textum* of the shield made by Vulcan for Aeneas at the behest of Venus.[20] One massive line picks out the theme of the whole twelve books: *Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.* The theme is analysed in the first seven lines of the opening book, where Virgil sings of arms and of that man,

> *Troiae qui primus ab oris,*
> *Italiam fato profugus Lavinaque venit*
> *Litora, multum ille et terris jactatus et alto*
> *vi superum, saevae memorem Junonis ob iram,*
> *Multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem*
> *Inferretque deos Latio, genus unde Latinum*
> *Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae.*

Yet the *Aeneid* is no mere glorification of Roman power and pride, though a poet, writing between 30 and 20 B.C., after Anthony's defeat and the return of general peace, might be forgiven this imperial theme.

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[19] The site of Alba Longa lies along one side of the Alban Lake, just below the ridge on which stands the village of Castel Gandolfo, with its Papal villa. There are, I think, no remains to be discovered.

[20] *Aeneid* viii, 626-731.

Wisely, Virgil placed the main weight of his poem in the past. This flattered the Romans, who wanted to think of their exalted ancestry. It allowed the poet to present Roman history in occasional visions and flashes —obscuring the darker moments with this sudden light—and to suggest that behind the development of Rome stood Heaven's destiny. It also permitted him to drive home the moral ideals upon which the first settlements in Italy had been established and on which Rome still depended for healthy advance and the fulfilment of its high mission. A modern Italian critic, Francesco Sforza, has argued that the whole of the *Aeneid* is a veiled criticism of Roman administration under Augustus and that the reason why its author asked, on his deathbed, that it might be burnt was compunction because of the kindnesses which Augustus had shown him.[21] This is an extreme point of view, which it would be difficult to substantiate. But it is clear that Virgil was emphasising the Roman qualities of *gravitas, pietas, constantia* and *auctoritas*—qualities which the Romans imagined themselves to possess and which, as a matter of historic fact, were prominent in the development of Rome. Here Stoic conceptions pressed upon the poet—conceptions narrow and self-centred, it is true, but capable of evoking courage, sacrifice and heroism in no mean degree. It is also clear that Virgil exercised a healthy influence on Augustus, helping him to evolve from the bloodthirsty young Octavian into the reasonably just and balanced ruler of an Empire.

In this Roman epic Virgil was obviously affected by the Greek epics of Homer. Here we must avoid extremes. To belittle Virgil with the noun "plagiarist" is as foolish, but not so clever, as Voltaire's remark that, if Homer really did make Virgil, then it was the best thing he ever made. Virgil has not the Homeric zest in camp and foray ; he is less spontaneously human ; maybe a trifle formal and statuesque on first acquaintance. But he puts into his poetry qualities which Homer did not have in the same degree. There is a compression of significance and sound in many of his lines which makes him linger in memory and fascinate imagination. His work is more deeply charged with human emotion that has been filtered through reflective thought. It is more universal, more eternal, with a profound sense of the responsibilities that weigh upon men and of a high destiny which at once guides and hurts. Of course, the *Aeneid* is a blending of *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In Homer, however, the *Iliad* comes first, with its rivalries and battles ; then, the *Odyssey* and the drawn-out tale of Odysseus's home-faring and home-coming. The *Aeneid* inverts these motifs. First the wandering, then comes battle. Much as Virgil has borrowed, consciously and unconsciously, from Homer, his epic is on a different plane. Homer is nearer to earth, to the human experience of joy and sorrow, of mother-love and wife-love. There is the poignancy of death and bereavement, of failure and loss. The *Iliad* is the story

[21] *Classical Review*. XLIX. 1935. Pp. 97-108.

of a man who is saved from himself by his friends and glories in the immediate experience of fight and victory. The *Odyssey* is the tale of a man who is saved because of his own bravery and wit and who reaches his island home to save the best and nearest of his friends. The Aeneas of Virgil is a man with a mission. He does not rejoice in conflict; blood and battle sicken him, despite his prowess. He does not come home, as does Odysseus. He fares forth into a foreign land, and we have the feeling that, when the curtain is rung down upon the *Aeneid* and Turnus is overthrown, that is the end of Aeneas too. He has fulfilled his mission; not himself, but others, are to profit.

Again, in Homer, the accent is on the present. Achilles is concerned with the fight or quarrel of to-day. Odysseus arrives in Ithaca, after much adventuring, to spend his remaining years easily by home and hearth. Virgil, all the time, is looking towards the future. Aeneas is the wanderer and pilgrim. His quest is a strange grail, of which he will see nothing but a faint flush hovering in the far-off sky. The grail will take long to find and fashion. So Aeneas becomes the Eternal Pilgrim, destined to wander homeless that others may find a home. He is suspended, as it were, between the old and beloved Troy, where he would fain have left his body in conflict, and the new Troy to be, heralded by the promises of the Gods, but which Aeneas will never know. Continually, he is reminded that he is a man of destiny. *Fatis huc te poscentibus affers*—Evander tells him.[22] He is the hero *quem numina poscunt*.[23]

He would far rather have halted at one of the many stages of his long journey and there established a settlement for his travel-weary men. His constant theme is: *Italiam non sponte sequor*. When faced with the unpleasant business of explaining his unfaithfulness to Dido, he is forced back to this same theme. He is a man committed, almost against himself, to a project. Had his own inclinations prevailed, he would have rebuilt the Troy of old:

> *Me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam*
> *Auspiciis, et sponte mea componere curas;*
> *Urbem Trojanam primum, dulcesque meorum*
> *Reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent,*
> *Et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis.*[24]

Aeneas is consequently a man of fate. He is racked and harried, *fato profugus*, always in flight before the decisions of the gods. Yet is this the whole explanation? The gods in the *Aeneid* are themselves subject to Fate's mysterious ordinances. There are times when it appears that Jupiter is the lord of Fate, but other passages, and these more numerous, show that Jupiter too must bow to Fate's decrees. Fate—that is, in Latin, *fatum*, etymologically, what has been spoken or ordained. Here there is an approximation to the Christian notion of the Will of God proclaiming

[22] *Aeneid* viii, 477. [23] *Aeneid* viii, 512. [24] *Aeneid* iv, 340-1.

itself to His creatures—possibly, also, to the idea of an uttered Word of God. Virgil had been strongly influenced by the Stoics, who emphasised the indwelling within Nature of a *Logos*, a principle of order and harmony, that reflected the Reason or the Word of the Almighty. Still, beneath this Virgilian concept of Fate one can readily sense another Stoic idea, that of fatalism and the inevitable necessity of what comes to be. Add to this the peculiarly sensitive quality of Virgil's mind which saw, in the rough and tumble and the bitterness of man's experience, the traces of a hard and cruel Fate resolving man's best efforts in final tragedy.

In Virgil's great epic, Aeneas becomes the genuine *ascetic* who abandons his dearest wishes and ambitions for the sake of an unselfish venture. He is austere, he has consecrated himself to a crusade. Not that the Aeneas of the poem is perfect. Far from it. He is sorely tempted to slay the defenceless Helen ; to offer human sacrifices to the gods ; and it is in an atmosphere of frenzied vengeance that he triumphs over Turnus. The epithet of *pius*, constantly attached to the name of Aeneas, has misled readers. He is neither pious nor good in the obvious sense. He is just *devoted*, despite himself, to one great purpose ; and the poet, looking back upon that purpose, sees that it was the establishment of Rome. In one real sense Aeneas is the ancestor of the Christian knight, the *preux chevalier*, of a brighter and more romantic Europe. Chivalry has begun—with Aeneas. There you have its spirit of devotion, of unselfishness, its sensitiveness to great ideals. Something is still wanting—the gay, gaillard atmosphere of the medieval chronicles, the faith that is so sure, the hope that freshens and illuminates. Aeneas is a very solemn, but almost Christian, knight.

It is, I think, this revelation of pre-Christian, that is very nearly Christian, dedication, together with the subtle and human qualities of Virgil, that has endeared the *Aeneid* to the Christian mind throughout the ages.

Virgil's reputation endured, first of all, in the pagan world. He was introduced into the schools of Rome as the model of poetry and language. In the first century A.D., the poet Statius spoke of his visit to Virgil's tomb and of the poetic inspiration he drew from it. A later Roman writer, Silius Italicus, observed Virgil's birthday every year as a personal feast and, as the younger Pliny tells us, made an annual pilgrimage to Virgil's grave. On the early Christian side there comes down to us the charming legend that St. Paul, when he arrived at Puteoli on his way to Rome, insisted on paying a visit to the tomb of the Roman poet, weeping over it and exclaiming how great a Christian saint Virgil would have made :

Ad Maronis mausoleum
Ductus fundit super eum
Piae rorem lacrimae.

Quem te, inquit, reddidissem,
Si te vivum invenissem,
Poetarum maxime.

This legend centred itself around the funeral monument at Naples. Naples is the keystone of much Virgilian and post-Virgilian interpretation. It was here that Virgil lived during the composition of the *Aeneid*. Not far away, to the North, were Cumae, the city where he first brings Aeneas to Italy, and the Lake of Avernus, whence Aeneas descended into the nether-world. It was here that Dante discovered Virgil, the *dolce maestro mio*, who was to be his guide through the regions of the Inferno and to whom he attributed what was best in his own poetic style. Finally, it was around Naples that there developed those curious legends of Virgil as magician and wonder-worker which persisted, at times in a very sinister setting, throughout the Middle Ages.

Not that Christians accepted Virgil without reservation. In the work of Domenico Comparetti, *Virgilio nel Medio Evo*,[25] can be discovered some Christian protests against Roman Virgil. There is the tale of Herbert of Norwich who speaks of an appearance of Christ offering the following reproof: "I know that from your earliest youth to ripe old age you have been faithful to the Church's offices. But why have you always in your hand the lies of Ovid and the fancies of Virgil? It is not becoming that the mouth which gives praise to Christ should recite Ovid." And the author of the life of St. Otto says that he had a vision of a vase, beautiful outside, but filled with serpents that came out of the vase and crawled all around him. The vase was Virgil, and the snakes were the false doctrines of the ancient Roman poets.[26] Then there is the story of a monk of Ravenna who studied the ancient classics with such attention that one night demons appeared to him, taking the semblance of Virgil, Horace and Juvenal and thanking him for all the time and study he had given to their works.

On the other hand, there are many traces of Virgil's influence on Christian leaders. St. Augustine confesses that he wept copious tears over the tragedy of Dido. In their writings, Augustine, Jerome and Lactantius quoted verses from Virgil and saw in them an assertion of the unity, the spirituality, and the power of God. Already in the fourth century Christians had begun to interpret Virgil's fourth Eclogue in a "Messianic" sense, attributing the poet's prophecy of a child soon to be born who will inaugurate a golden age of plenty and peace, to the coming on earth of the Saviour. At Rheims, to quote one of many possible instances, Virgil was called upon—in a feast-day sequence—to bear witness unto Christ. A character in the choir, representing the poet, stepped forward and sang a line reminiscent of the fourth Eclogue, *Ecce polo, demissa solo, nova progenies est*. The *anima cortese mantovano*, for

[25] Published in Livorno in 1872. [26] *Comparetti*, p. 124.

that is how Dante speaks of his master, was more than master here; he was Dante's guide, a fitting symbol of human wisdom and affection, through the circles of the underworld; but, that journey once complete, the old yields place to the new, the pagan Virgil to Beatrice the Christian.

Once Christianity had established itself in Europe, it became the fashion to look upon the extraordinary growth of pagan Rome as intended by Divine Providence to prepare the way for the Christian Church. Christian missionaries travelled along Imperial highways and sailed in Imperial ships; they no longer needed any gift of tongues since they could range the length and breadth of that Empire with the two languages of Latin and the "common" Greek. In a more inward sense, they claimed to see the preparation of the pagan mind for Christ—through poets like Virgil and philosophers such as Plato and in the many prophecies of the Sibyls.[27] For the Sibyls, witness their frequent association with the prophets of Israel in Renaissance art: for example, in the Raphael frescoes in the Roman church of *Santa Maria della Pace*, where four of them are shown listening to the tidings of Christ's birth, or in Michelangelo's work in the Sistine chapel, from the walls of which the figures of prophets and Sibyls stand out in bold relief.

This theme has been exaggerated, possibly by the Renaissance artists, certainly by Sainte-Beuve, who wrote: *La venue même du Christ n'a rien qui étonne, quand on a lu Virgile.* Mr. Jackson Knight, in a short section at the close of his book, judges more moderately and as follows:—

> Virgil's reputation as a natural Christian had many origins, but to us his chief claim to it is in his humanity and sympathy. No tremendous demand of patriotism and Roman destiny makes him forget the blood and tears or accept them with reconciliation. . . . .
>
> There is truth in the view, best maintained by Father Espinosa, that Virgil had a providential mission to prepare the world for Christianity. . . . . He formed the long past into a scheme of life in which Christianity "would not be a surprise" . . . . He made a picture of right living in which old human values and principles were preserved, and in which that which is Caesar's could be rendered unto Caesar, and unto God that which was God's; what he left unsaid was Christianity's say.[28]

JOHN MURRAY

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[27] A recent study of this aspect of ancient literature, with special reference to Virgil, is *Virgilio, el poeta y su misión providencial* by Father Aurelio Espinosa Pólit, S.J. Quito. 1932.

[28] *op. cit.*, p. 327.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MC KENNA, S.J.

LXXIII

JOY AT RELEASE OF TOMÁS.

MAOL PÁDRAIG MAC NAIMHÍN cc

1. Ní beag an léansa ar Leath Cuinn
a dhíoth d'áiriumh ní fhéadfuinn ;
léan ag fóbra chuir d'íbh Céin
do chuir an Fhódla i n-aimhréidh.

2. Léan do loigh ar lacht a chruidh,
léan nach leig cnuas tre chraobhuibh,
léan dá dtarrla cor do chách,
nach tarbha crodh ná conách.

3. Léan ar bronnudh bhó agus each,
léan dar heasgradh an t-eineach,
léan ba sgéal ar fianaibh Fáil,
léan ar chliaraibh do chongbháil.

4. Léan do fhás i gciomhsaibh críoch,
léan do leig fhás don eissíoth,
léan mór ar teacht an toraidh
le gcleacht gach slógh síorfhoghail.

5. Gabháil meic Bhriain gá mbí sinn
cúis an leoinse as léan d'Éirinn ;
gor gabhadh gríobh fhuinn Uladh
gan shíol gCuinn do chumhsgughadh.

6. Gidh mór n-oilbhéim uair Éire
re ngabháil chinn Choirrshléibhe,
ioth Banbha ní béad [ro] bháidh
acht géag Gabhra do ghabháil.

7. Tráigh gach lacha is lán tuile
do ghabháil chinn Callmhuighe ;
do thart ma n-uair ní fhaghar
acht lacht buair do bheagaghadh.

8. Tomás Mág Shamhradhán Sháigh
nírbh iongnadh Goill dá ghabháil ;
mór d'amhnas an bhreith do-bhir
a bheith i ngallghlas Ghaoidhil.

9. Gabháil í Chraoidhe is crádh leam
creach as mhó d'éigsibh Éireann;
creach gach cléire ad-chím i láimh
tre ghríbh nGréine do ghabháil.

10. A bhfuil ar cleith n-Uire d'airc
suaithnidh linn Dia gá díoghailt;
iomdha geall re géig n-Eanaigh
nach téid tar ceann gcóigeadhaigh.

11. Gan bhuain d'fhaisgin is gan ar,
gan lá gréine ó ro gabhadh,
—créad nar aisdrigh sgéimh man sgéal?—
gan ghréin d'fhaisgin i n-a-éar.

12. Gan luadh síodhcháine ag síol Chuinn,
gan treabhadh gan tuar bhfearainn,
gan bhuing arbha gach achaidh
i mBanbha Chuinn Chéadchathaigh.

13. Gan díon ag duine ar dheabhaidh
gan bhac gcruidh re caidhbheanaibh,
gan chlódh bhfionghaile ná fill,
ní sódh ionghaire d'Éirinn.

14. Ag sin n-a ghioll—déachta dháibh!—
a-tá ag Dia i ngioll re ghabháil;
ó chách ní thoill an torudh
coill n-a bláth do bheannoghudh.

15. Gabháil Méig Shamhradhán sheing
do líon d'urchradhaibh Éirinn,
bheith i láimh do bharr Bhealaigh
tall i ngráin do Ghaoidhealaibh.

16. Tnúdh re maithius mhíleadh Fáil
is é an tnúdh thug a ghabháil,
is ar flaith Almhan an idh,
nach maith adhnadh an einigh.

17. Tug gabháil fhir an fhuilt truim
an fhéile i n-éinidh iaruinn
gá bhfuil deighfhear Annla i n-idh;
nír gheimheal adhbha an einigh.

18. Ó 'd-chiad i n-idh fhear nGaillmhe
do-ní gach cliar comhairle,
tocht ar cuan mar nar lúdh linn
is cúl mon-uar re hÉirinn.

19. Do bhí ag éigsibh Inse Fáil
d'éis dhreagoin Gháil do ghabháil
ag triall tar searbhsháile soir
mian dearmháile ar na dámhoibh.

20. Dámha Fódla láimh do láimh
do-niad chomhairle an chéadáir ;
druim re braontaṛadh chláir Chuinn
rob áil d'aontaghadh aguinn.

21. Gluaistear le fileadhaibh Fáil
imirche aidhbhseach anbháil,
gan rian gcoinnmhe [sgeanma] ar sgoil,
go ndearna an Coimdhe a gcabhoir.

22. Gach neach uainn 's a cheann ma choim
ag faisgin an chuain chugoinn
do fhuair a moludh an mhoir
uainn re homhun an anfoidh.

23. Mar dob áil linn tocht ar tuinn
táinig glaodh cudhnóidh chuguinn ;
snaidhm do tháth na dtuath ag teacht
gairm chuach re cách a chloisdeacht.

24. Éisdmid ann sin suairc an glór
neach gá rádha rinn iompódh
binne an ghlóir do labhradh leis
ba cóir adhṛadh dá aithris.

25. Tugsum beannacht ar a bhéal
ó do innis mar uirsgéal ;
teacht a láimh do fhlaith Ghaoidheal
maith bhadh cháir a comhmaoidheamh.

26. Buain a geimhle do ghéig Dhruing
tug sluaigheadh iompóidh aguinn ;
teacht d'eighir Teamhra dá thoigh
meanma an einigh do ardoigh.

27. Tug broghudh ar bláth mBanbha
buain a ghlais d'fhior fhionnGhabhra;
sgaoileadh géibhinn do ghéig Cláir
do léig d'Éirinn a hanáil.

28. Ciodh nach badh fháilteach Éire
re teacht chraoibhe Coirrshléibhe
lionn táith ó gColmáin do chách
do chongbháil cháich i gconách.

29. Taoiseac Theallaigh úir Eachach
beodha coitcheann ceirtbhreathach
ní traothar lé neach gan neart
breath agus é gá héisdeacht.

30. Tomás Mág Shamhradhán sheing
gan ghiall dó is doirbh a [aichill];
geall d'ú Chonnla ar cheann na gcríoch
comhla as fhearr risin eissíoth.

31. Re mac meic Mhóire as mhion troigh
cia as coimhfhial do chloinn Adhoimh?
ní hiomdha acht cleath fhial Eine
neach nar iarr a oirbheire.

32. A ghille ghabhas do láimh
nós einigh gach fhir d'admháil,
dá n-abra as fearr [im ní] neach
iná ceann Lí budh leithbhreath.

33. Ní fhoil ar deighfhear nDala
locht einigh ná heangnamha;
ní thug séad maith do mholadh
ar fhlaith nGréag a ghrádhoghadh.

34. Cairde im ní 's gan ní n-a láimh
ní chuinngheann cuingidh Gabhráin;
ní cheis ar crodh cleath Gháille
ar ndol i dteach dtromdháimhe.

35. Tomás Mág Shamhradháin Sháidh
is iomdha cliar n-a chomhdháil,
teacht gan riar nocho dóigh dhí
gach cliar do-chóidh n-a choinne. Ní

36. Ní beag an nós ar Nualaidh
an fhuilt chleachtaigh camdhualaigh
ar mnaoi Cál nocho léir locht
is lán do chéill 's do chunnlocht.

37. Inghean Mhéig Uidhir fhuair bladh
gnaoi na mná as mhaith re moladh;
ní thadhaill géag úr Fhinne
tnúdh ná héad ná haininne. Ní.

38. Sitriug mhac Briain bruinne slim
geall gach fir dó do dhlighfinn;
neach ní cheis ar a gcaith dí
cá maith as leis nach leinne? Ní

39. A tigh nimhe as naomhdha clár
cuireadh Phádraig phuirt Ghabhráin
theachta chugam re ndol di
go dtugam chor don chruinne. Ní

TRANSLATION

1. Heavy is this affliction on Leath Cuinn, I can not tell how great a loss it is; affliction overthrowing Cian's race has disturbed Fódla.

2. Affliction striking the milk of her kine, and leaving no fruit on her branches, and casting every man down and taking all value from kine and treasure.

3. Ruin on the bestowing of kine and horses, ruin laying low all generosity, ruin to shame the Fiana of Fál, ruin on poet's maintenance.

4. Ruin coming on the borders of the land, and letting dissension grow apace, ruin on the coming of fruit, ruin letting all hosts continue raiding.

5. The capture of Brian's son with whom I live is cause of this ruin, ruin to Éire; till the Griffin of Ulaidh was captured, Conn's seed had never been scattered.

6. Many the disaster Éire knew before Coirrshliabh's Chief was captured, yet no real disaster came to ruin Banbha's corn till the capture of the Branch of Gabhair.

7. Owing to the capture of Callmhagh's Chief every lake-shore is flooded: in all his possessions there is no dryness—except the dryness of cows' milk!

8. 'Twere not strange had the Goill been the captors of Tómás Mág Shamhradháin of Ságh, but terrible the affliction which this judgment on him has caused, his being in the foreign-like prison of a Gaoidheal!

9. A torture to me is the capture of Craoidhe's scion, the worst disaster that ever befell Éire's sages; owing to (the capture of) Grian's Griffin I foresee all poets' captivity and ruin.

10. This strait in which Úr's Pillar lies—we know well that God will avenge it; there is many a pledge available for Eanach's Branch which is not available for (any other) province-ruler.

11. Since his capture we see no harvesting or ploughing or sunny day or even a gleam of the sun in the heavens; at this news have not all things lost their beauty?

12. Conn's race can not rest at peace ; there is no ploughing or tilling of land or gathering of corn in any field of all Conn Céadchathach's Banbha.

13. Men are unsafe from attack, kine are unsafe from robbers, crime and treachery go unchecked—'tis no way to protect Éire !

14. . . . . (?)

15. Graceful Mág Samhradháin's capture, the imprisonment of Bealach's Chief, and some Gaoidhil being held in horror (?)—these things fill Éire with woe.

16. Envy of his fortune caused the capture of Fál's Soldier, and placed the gyve on Almha's Prince, and so the flame of generosity is dim.

17. The capture of this thick-haired hero, Annla's Warrior, put Generosity in the same fetter with him ; a prison was never Generosity's home !

18. Seeing the Man of Gaillimh in chains, all of us, poets, resolved to go overseas—a thing we liked not !—and to turn our backs alas ! on Éire.

19. When the Dragon of Gál was captured, a mournful desire seized the poets of Inis Fáil, all their poet-bands, passing over the salt sea to the East.

20. The poet-bands of Fódla, all of them, take counsel forthwith ; we all with a single wish choose to leave the soft fruitfulness of the Plain of Conn.

21. The poets of Fál set forth on a dreadful terrible exile until the Lord alleviated the terrors of the scholars left unprovided.

22. As we come in sight of the sea, each of us had his head sunk on his breast : the sea got a song of praise from us in our fear of storm !

23. While we were thus anxious to set forth on the wave, a consoling cry reached us that the binding of the land's reunion was at hand : the news was as the cuckoo's cry for us all.

24. We then heard—how pleasant the word !—a man telling us to return ; the sweetness of that word of his, we should keep telling of it for ever.

25. We blessed his lips when he told us what was like a wonder-tale, the recovery of the Prince of the Gaoidhil ; 'twas a boon ever to be told of.

26. The taking of his chain from the Branch of Drong made us turn back our hosting ; the return of Teamhair's Heir to his home awakened again the spirit of generosity.

27. The taking of his chain from the Hero of fair Gabhair brought increase on the blossoming of Banbha ; the loosening of his gyves from the Branch of Clár let Éire breathe once more.

28. Should not Éire rejoice at the return to all of Coirrshliabh's Branch, the binding mortar of Colmán's race, so that he maintain us all in prosperity ?

29. That the Prince of green Teallach Eachach is (again) full of vigour and constant in just judging is news which will not cast down the weak man who hears it !

30. Tomás, scion of graceful Samhradhán, can hardly be safe without hostages ; pledges given to Connla's scion for each land are the best door to keep out dissensions.

31. Who in all Adam's race equals in generosity neat-footed Mór's son ? Few men are to be found—beside the generous Pillar of Eine—who have never deserved any reproach.

32. Thou, my friend, who wouldst essay to record each man's generosity, if thou sayest that any man is freer with wealth than the Prince of Lí, 'tis a false judgment.

33. In the Hero of Dola hospitality and chivalry are faultless ; to extol his goodly wealth does not make the Prince of the Greeks love it (and therefore keep it).

34. The Captain of Gabbrán does not ask for delay about giving gifts even when he has nothing in hand ; the Pillar of Gáille, when entering the exacting poets' hall, complains not of (the smallness of) his resources !

35. Tomás Mág Samhradháin of Ságh has always many poets with him ; those of them who go to him have no fear of coming away unprovided.

36. Great is the glory of Nualaidh of the curling braided hair ; in that Lady of Cál no fault is seen ; she is full of sense and kindness.

37. Good theme for praise is the glory of Mág Uidhir's famous daughter ; that Branch of the Finn feels not envy or jealousy or any unlovely feeling.

38. Sitriug, Brian's son, smooth breast, I must set above all men ; he grumbles not at the wealth he gives away ; what part of it is his and not also mine ?

39. From Heaven's house with its sacred floor may Pádraig of the City of Gabhrán send a messenger (of help) to me, so that, before I leave this world, I may have conquered it.

NOTES

Mag. MS. p. 34. 1*a*. *leg.* Chuinn ? 2*c*. da ta. 3*a*. brondudh *d*. chl. 4*b*. esidh *d*. cl. 5*a*. m(c *above*) bhr. *d*. Cuinn. 6*c*. ri 7*b*. *leg.* Chall. ? *c*. da tha. *d*. -gadhadh 8*c*. an mbr. *d*. aibheth ; –dhel 9*b* is mho *c*. idchim 10*a*. an foil (bh *over* f) *b*. suaich. *c* ri geg *d*. dar ; coi. 11*b*. *leg.* ngr. ? ; ra *c*. aisdigh *d*. gr. 12*a*. sidhcaimhi (?) *b*. fear. 13*b*. cr. ; ri ca. *c*. cl. ; fiongh. 14*a*. aig ; dectha *b*. ata ag dia *c*. o chach ni thoill antorudh 15*a*. meg *b*. -renn *c*. llaimh *d*. angrain 16*a*. ri *b*. tug *c*. *leg.* is ór bhfl. A. i n-idh ? 17*c*. go fhuil degher 18*b*. -rrle *d*. manuar ri eir. 19*a*. bhi gegsibh *b*. dr. ga. *c*. *leg.* i dtriall ? ; dar *d*. mhian 20*b*. -rrle a cheda. 21*b*. aibhs. *c*. coi. ; sgeanmdha (*second* a underdotted) *d*. cabh. 22*c*. moir *d*. ri. 23*a*. dobhail *b*. chudh. *c*. a teacht *d*. ga. cu. ri cach a cl. 25*c*. laith ga. *d*. chomai. 26*c*. *leg.* Thea. ? ; dia th. 27*b*. dir *c*. ghei. 28*a*. bhadh *b*. ri *d*. caich 29*c*. ga neart 30*b* aicell *d*. esith 31*a*. ri *b*. is coi. 32*a*. aighilli *c*. am ni (ni *blotted*) *d*. bhudh 33*a*. dheghear *d*. as fl. 34*d*. tro. 36*a* anosa ar *c*. *leg.* gCál ? 37*a*. *leg.* Méig ? *b*. is maith 38*c*. *leg.* neach nach ceis ? ; ar a ca. 39*a*. aitigh *b*. pa. phu.

THE ULSTER SCOTS IN COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA *

BY PROFESSOR T. W. MOODY, F.T.C.D.

PART I

THE history of national stocks in America, other than English, has excited a good deal of filio-pietistic interest, but of scientific research and interpretation there is little to be found on the subject. Many books have been written to show how large have been the respective contributions to American life of Dutch, German, Ulster-Scottish, Irish, Huguenot, and other stocks—how many notabilities they have produced, what unique qualities they have always displayed, and how they have always been in the forefront of progress in every sphere. The historiography of the Ulster Scots in America—or, in American terminology, the Scotch-Irish—is a leading example of this tendency. The Scotch-Irish were late in becoming history-conscious, but when they did so they exerted themselves to make up for lost time. The Scotch-Irish Society of America, whose main objects were "the preservation of Scotch-Irish history" and "the keeping alive the *esprit de corps* of the race", was founded at Columbia, Tennessee, in May 1889.[1] There, for four crowded days, a mixed multitude of Americans who were, or believed themselves to be, descendants of Ulster settlers, revelled in a Turkish bath of sentimentality and mutual edification. Col. A. K. McClure, a leading light in the movement, discoursed on "Scotch-Irish achievement" as follows :—

> If you are asked, Where have the Scotch-Irish been and where are they now? the answer is, Where have they not been and where are they not? If you are asked what they have done, the answer of every intelligent citizen must be, What have they not done? If you ask what distinguished places of trust and power they have filled, the logical answer is, What place is there in civil, military, or religious authority that they have not filled? To speak of such a race, is to speak of the history of the past achievements of our land[2] . . . .
>
> It required more than a thousand years to perfect the Scotch-Irish character. It is of a creation single from all races of mankind, and a creation not of one people nor of one century, nor even five centuries, but a thousand years of mingled effort and sacrifice, ending in the sieges of Derry, were required to present to the world the perfect Scotch-Irish character[3] . . . .
>
> I thank the siege of Londonderry, because it was that which sent them to the

* Originally delivered as a public lecture in the Queen's University of Belfast on 24th October 1944.

[1] *The Scotch-Irish in America: proceedings of the Scotch-Irish congress at Columbia, Tennessee, May 8–11, 1889* (Cincinnati, 1889), pp. 1–9, 37–8. Nine subsequent congresses were held—annually from 1890 to 1896, in 1900, and 1901—for each of which a volume of proceedings was published under the serial title *The Scotch-Irish in America* (Cincinnati, 1890; Nashville, 1891–1901). The material in these ten volumes makes a very mixed bag, but there is much information of value, not to be found elsewhere.

[2] *Scotch-Ir. in Amer.*, i. 178.

[3] *Ibid.*, i. 179.

new world. Then they came fleeing from home, from all which they loved, to the new world, as teachers of the inalienable rights of man to worship the living God as he shall choose, and maintain civil freedom as the highest right of God's created beings . . . It was the Scotch-Irish people of the colonies that made the declaration of independence in 1776. Without them, it could not have been thought of, except as a passing fancy . . . . They and they alone, were its authors . . . . When the Scotch-Irish of this land declared that the American colonies should be free, it meant that the Scotch-Irish blood was ready to flow upon the battle field, that the Scotch-Irish arm was ready to wield the battle-axe, and that, come weal or woe, they meant to maintain the declaration with their lives. (Applause.)[1]

Here, stated with a lovely naïveté, we have the essential Scotch-Irish myth.

My purpose is to attempt an estimate of the part played by Ulster-Scottish settlers and their descendants in the American revolution. As a necessary background, I shall review the previous history of the Ulster Scots in Ireland and America.[2]

I

There is one dominant characteristic of the Ulster Scots in America during the whole period with which we are concerned. It is that of frontiersmen *par excellence*. The concept of the frontier, first clearly expounded by F. J. Turner in 1893, has been a master-key in the interpretation of American history. Unlike frontiers in Europe, which have long been fortified boundaries running through populated areas, the American frontier was a shifting zone lying on the outer edge of the settled area and on the inside of an area of "free" land. The Atlantic coast, the region of the original European settlements in north America, was the first American frontier. Here the settlers established the customs and institutions of their homeland; and here, in a limited area, they created a new and evolving civilization. West of these earliest Atlantic settlements lay a vast, sparsely inhabited, and little known wilderness, where land was to be had by those enterprising and bold enough to go out and seize it. From an early stage in the history of the colonies men went adventuring into this wilderness; and the westward movement thus begun went on unceasingly till, at the end of the nineteenth century, the frontier had reached the Pacific coast. This westward advance of the frontier, Turner holds, was the most important single movement in American history. American development, instead of occurring as a single process within fixed geographical limits, has been determined by the constant recession of the frontier westwards whereby the process of social evolution has been renewed in each western region opened up. And so American history

[1] *Ibid.*, i. 181–2.

[2] Besides the collection already quoted, the main published works on the subject are as follows: C. A. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish in America* (2 vols., N.Y., 1902); C. K. Bolton, *Scotch-Irish pioneers in Ulster and America* (Boston, 1910); H. J. Ford, *The Scotch-Irish in America* (Princeton, 1915); A. C. Myers, *Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania, 1682–1750* (Swarthmore (Penn.), 1902).

" has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character." The frontier was always the region " of most rapid and effective Americanization. The advance of the frontier has meant a steady movement away from the influence of Europe, a steady growth of independence on American lines." The frontiersman was a permanent American type down to nearly 1900, a type characterized *inter alia* by dogged individualism and impatience of governmental control. In the rise of American democracy, with its vices as well as its virtues, this frontier element has been the decisive factor.[1]

The Ulster Scots, who were to form the most distinctive element on the American frontier in the eighteenth century, were in the seventeenth century engaged in a movement of western expansion within the British Isles. In the early seventeenth century, Ulster was for the first time effectively opened up to British colonization. Bold and enterprising spirits from England and Scotland were drawn to Ulster by the same kind of inducements—dissatisfaction with their existing circumstances, the expectation of cheap land, the spirit of adventure—as constantly drove men out to the frontier in America. The conditions which the settlers encountered in Ulster—a natural environment comparatively untamed and a native population implacably hostile—were parallelled on the American frontier; and the same characteristics were necessary for success in both spheres. The official scheme of the Ulster plantation contemplated a mixed colony of English and Scottish in roughly equal numbers; and in Antrim and Down, which were outside the plantation scheme and were colonized piecemeal by private enterprise, the numerical distribution of English and Scots was probably almost equal. But in Ulster as a whole, from the early years of the plantation, the Scots were the more numerous and forceful element and increasingly became the backbone of the colony. That this colony succeeded whereas all similar attempts elsewhere in Ireland failed was due mainly to the Scots. Partly the explanation lies in the closer proximity to Ulster of Scotland than of England. Apart from the initial advantage, the ease of access to Ulster from Scotland enabled the Scottish colonists to maintain vital contact with their countrymen at home. But of far deeper significance was the character of these Scots. Here in passing may I say that the effort to prove that the Scots who came to Ulster in plantation days were really Gaels returning home after centuries of sojourning abroad is just romantic shadow-hunting. The thesis that " the Ulster Scot is largely of Celtic origin "[2], if it means anything at all, is without historical significance.

[1] F. J. Turner, *The frontier in American history* (N. Y., 1920), ch. I, *passim*.
[2] See J. B. Woodburn, *The Ulster Scot*, ch. I.

The significant fact is that the Scots who were allowed into plantation Ulster were English in speech and protestant in religion; the bulk of them came from the Scotland that lay south of a line from Glasgow to the Firth of Forth, and not from the Gaelic-speaking highlands and western islands; a dour, stubborn, self-assertive people, quite distinct from the Gaels whether of Scotland or Ireland. Life in Scotland was generally much harder and rougher than in England, and this both predisposed the Scots to emigrate and prepared them for the hardships attendant on settlement in such a region as Ulster then was. The English expected more of Ulster than the Scots, and some of them returned home after their first taste of the rigours of planting. The Scots were less easily daunted, and set themselves stubbornly to master their new environment. With equal tenacity they clung to their possessions against the efforts of the dispossessed Irish to recover what they had lost. The seventeenth century was the decisive period in this dark and bitter struggle between supplanters and supplanted; it witnessed two great organised efforts by the Irish—in 1641 and 1688—to effect a counter-revolution, and on both occasions the victory of the colonists was largely due to the valour of the Scots. Other British colonies in Ireland melted away through absorption into the Irish population or loss of spirit. The Ulster colony was never absorbed and never lost confidence in itself. For that the Scots were mainly responsible.

What gave the Ulster Scots their peculiar cohesion and discipline, and marked them out unmistakably from the English, was their religion. The reformation in Scotland had been forced upon the crown by the middle classes, unlike the reformation in England, initiated and promoted by the crown; and this distinction was to run right through the history of church and state in the two countries. Presbyterianism, the mould in which the Scottish reformation solidified, meant a church independent of the state and a republican government of the church in which the laity were associated with the clergy and all ministers of the word had equal authority. In contrast, anglicanism involved the subordination of the church to the state, the royal supremacy over the church, and the government of the church by bishops, royally appointed. The Stuarts had no doubt of the identity of interests between absolute monarchy and anglicanism on the one hand, and, on the other, between limited monarchy and presbyterianism. Anglicanism was the established religion throughout the British Isles while the Stuarts were in power, and both in Scotland and Ireland presbyterianism had to fight for survival. In the great constitutional struggle of the seventeenth century, presbyterian Scotland contributed powerfully to the cause of parliament and at the revolution of 1688 gathered the fruits of victory.

The presbyterianism of the Scots was a vital fact in their history politically, as well as morally and intellectually; for it made resistance

to the absolutism of the Stuarts an unavoidable necessity for them. The Ulster Scots shared this necessity. To begin with, they practised presbyterianism in a modified form, with royal indulgence, within the framework of the established church. The absolutist rule of Wentworth in Ireland exposed the anomalies of this situation, and the Scots were coerced into a sullen acquiescence. But in the revolutionary era that followed the rebellion of 1641, when there was a new influx from Scotland, they openly organized themselves as a separate presbyterian church. So well rooted was this church that it was able to maintain itself against all subsequent efforts of the established church to have it suppressed. Never did the established clergy more vehemently condemn dissent than after the appalling crisis of 1688–90, when, but for the dissenters, British rule in Ireland might have been extinguished. With catholic Ireland prostrate, the established clergy and their predestined allies, the great landowners, were determined to maintain their privileged position against protestant dissenters as against the catholics themselves. And this though the episcopalians numbered less than half the whole protestant body. Protestant ascendancy meant not merely the dominance of the British colony in Ireland but the dominance of two privileged orders within that colony. It was not till 1719 that presbyterian worship received legal toleration, similar to that given to episcopalian worship in Scotland seven years before; and from 1704 to 1780, presbyterians were debarred by a sacramental test from all civil and military offices under the crown and from local government. So the Ulster Scots, having materially assisted in overthrowing royal absolutism, found themselves the victims of a regime of privilege alike in church and state.

The Ulster Scots did not, of course, submit tamely to these conditions. Strengthened by a fresh exodus from Scotland after the revolution, they made no pretence of obeying the law in its bearing on their religion, or of concealing their views about bishops in general and those of the Church of Ireland in particular. The actual restrictions on their religious life were comparatively slight, and the practical effect of the sacramental test on their civil opportunities was inconsiderable, because they belonged to the small farmer and trader class which in the main was outside the pale of public employment. But the resentment of the Ulster Scots at being legally marked out as an inferior caste was profound, and coloured their general outlook. To this was added, from about 1700 onwards, the discontent engendered by a combination of unfavourable economic circumstances. The destruction of the Irish woollen trade in the interests of the English manufacturers caused a general depression which Ulster fully shared. About 1717, there was a widespread and catastrophic increase of rents in Ulster. Landlords who, after the wastage of the revolution, had been glad to let land very cheaply to protestant tenants and especially to newcomers from Scotland, now seized the opportunity of the falling-

in of leases to double and sometime to treble the rents. Farms were put up to competition, and the existing protestant tenants were often outbid by catholics willing to submit to a far lower standard of living. It was in these circumstances that there began a presbyterian emigration from Ulster to America, which, intermittently swollen by some fresh calamity such as the great famine of 1740–1 or the disturbances of 1771 on the Donegal and other large estates, flowed unceasingly for nearly three-quarters of a century. It has been estimated that for fifty years the emigration amounted to an average annual figure of 4,000.[1] The total population of Ireland, catholic and protestant, at the middle of the century is reckoned to have been about 2,370,000.

The outlook and motives of the emigrants were the product of a century of Ulster-Scottish history. Presbyterianism was ingrained in them, but unlike the presbyterians of Scotland they had departed from tradition in having become believers in religious liberty. They had learnt to detest the conception of a church established and maintained by the state. The moral of their experience in Ulster was that the state should not interfere in the religious life of its citizens so long as they behaved themselves peaceably; and this moral they were increasingly to act upon in the new world. Alike by temperament and experience, therefore, they were rugged individualists. They had learned to hate social inequality and the rule of a privileged class; it was certain that, in the land of opportunity to which their eyes were now turned, they would be radicals in politics. But their radical tendency was limited in scope by the circumstances of their long struggle with the native Irish, whom they hated and despised. In the new world they were unlikely to have scruples about the rights of the native Red Indians, and would not be deterred by the necessity of chronic fighting to maintain their acquisitions. Readiness to fight in defence of their interests and dogged persistence in fighting were fundamental to their whole make-up. It is unsound to regard the American emigration in general as an admission of defeat; the Ulster Scots were very far from being defeated on the religious issue. Fundamentally it was economic motives that caused them to go; and it was not so much in despair as in indignation that they went—indignation at the paralysing restrictions on their industry and enterprise at home, and confidence in their ability to make good abroad. Many of the emigrants, after selling up their possessions in Ulster, had enough capital to pay for their passages to America and start them out on their new careers. What they sought in America was primarily cheap land and a minimum of interference from both church and state.

From catholic Ireland, emigration to America was comparatively

[1] M. L. Hansen, *The Atlantic migration, 1607–1860* (Cambridge (Mass.), 1940), ch. II. Cf. Fr. Aubrey Gwynn, "Documents relating to the Irish in the West Indies", in *Analecta Hibernica*, iv (1932), at pp. 280-6.

small in volume prior to the nineteenth century.[1] The catholic exodus after the treaty of Limerick flowed mainly to the continent, and it was not till the nineteenth century, and especially after the great famine of 1845–7, that emigration of catholic Irishmen to America became a mass movement.[1]

II

The inclination of the Ulster Scots to look for emancipation across the Atlantic was manifested as early in 1636, when the *Eagle Wing* set out from Belfast Lough for New England with a company of would-be emigrants.[2] By the end of the seventeenth century there were small settlements of Ulster Scots in America, especially on Chesapeake Bay, but there was nothing like a general movement prior to 1718. The broad stream of emigration that began after 1718 entered America through various channels—Boston (for the New England colonies), the Hudson (for New York and New Jersey), Philadelphia and other Delaware ports (for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland), Chesapeake Bay (for Maryland), and Charleston (for the Carolinas). Of these the Delaware was much the most important, and a far larger number of Ulster-Scottish immigrants passed through its ports than through all others put together. Ulster Scots settled in all thirteen of the American colonies, and most thickly in Pennsylvania and the highlands of Virginia and the Carolinas. Fundamentally this was because these were the principal regions that still awaited settlement after 1700 and were available for settlement prior to the overthrow of the French in North America ; and because they welcomed immigration, were attractive to immigrants, and were easily accessible from the sea.

At first the Ulster Scots headed for New England, on account of doctrinal unity between themselves and the New England puritans. But New England proved an unfavourable field : the ruling puritans were intolerant of any form of puritanism other than their own and had a settled dislike of newcomers other than English ; by a policy of exclusiveness they had preserved a remarkable homogeneity of culture and religious organisation.[3] It is not surprising that antipathies at once developed between the native congregationalists and the intruding presbyterians, especially over the question of ecclesiastical taxes, which in New England were levied by the local authorities. The immigrants soon pushed out to the frontiers, planting settlements in western Massachusetts, on the coast of Maine (then an outlying part of Massachusetts), in southern New Hampshire, and the territory that was to become the state of Vermont.

[1] Hansen, *op. cit.*, pp. 107 ff.

[2] They returned home after the ship had been damaged by a storm when far out in the Atlantic. For a vivid account of the voyage see Adair, *A true narrative of the rise and progress of the presbyterian church in Ireland*, ed. W. D. Killen (Belfast, 1866), pp. 43–6.

[3] S. H. Sutherland, *Population distribution in colonial America* (N. Y., 1936), pp. 42–4.

These settlements, which were thickest in Maine, marked the limit of frontier advance in New England prior to the revolution. They can easily be traced on the map by such place-names as Belfast and Bangor on Penobscot Bay, the towns of Londonderry[1] and Antrim[2] and the county of Hillsboro' in New Hampshire, Orange county in Vermont, and the town of Coleraine[3] in Massachusetts. Ulster Scots thus took root in New England, yet it was only in 20 townships that they formed a significant part of the population.[4] The flow of their immigration into New England petered out after 1720.

In New York, though religious toleration was the rule, the prevailing land system acted as a deterrent to immigration—a system that favoured great feudal landowners at the expense of small proprietors. Ulster Scots settled in the south-western corner of the colony, in what came to be called Orange and Ulster counties, during the years 1720-40. But the effect of the land system was such that in 1775 Ulster county had only 30 people to the square mile.[5] From these districts Ulster Scots pushed westwards into the upper Susquehanna valley (Pennsylvania) from 1738 onwards. An independent region of Ulster-Scottish settlement was the upper Hudson,[6] on the northern frontier of New York, to which, from about 1760, there was immigration from both Massachusetts and Northern Ireland. But Ulster-Scottish participation in settling New York was much less than that of immigrants from the highlands of Scotland. In New Jersey a lowland Scottish element was well-established by the end of the seventeenth century. This was now augmented by secondary deposits from the currents of Ulster Scots entering by the Hudson and the Delaware.

There was scarcely any Ulster-Scottish immigration into Virginia from the coast, because there was no cheap land to be had in the coastal plain. Much of the region from the sea to the fall-line—marked by the heads of navigation of the rivers, and dividing the coastal plain from the uplands or piedmont—was monopolised by large tobacco plantations, and the advance into the piedmont was largely directed and controlled by the ruling class of the seaboard. In the Carolinas the population was very sparse and progress into the interior very slow. In North Carolina the principal deterrent was a dangerous coastline and the absence of accessible harbours ; in South Carolina the most profitable land along the seaboard had been engrossed for rice plantations. In both colonies the westward movement was impeded by swamps, sandhills, and a belt of pine barrens lying between the fall-line and the sea. Charleston was the only good port of entry for both North and South Carolina, and here Ulster Scots began to arrive in considerable numbers in the 'thirties. Thence they took a leading part in the advance inland to the piedmont. In 1729, to encourage immigration, the government had laid out on the

[1] Rockingham county. [2] Hillsboro county. [3] Franklin county.
[4] Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 46. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 83. [6] In Washington county.

frontier eleven townships, of 20,000 acres each, for occupation by groups of settlers. One of these, on Black River, was granted to a company of Ulster Scots and by them called Williamsburgh. Another frontier settlement of Ulster Scots was in Duplin county, North Carolina. But the real strength of the Ulster-Scots in these colonies, as also in Virginia, was to lie in the piedmont and the mountain regions, which they settled not from the coast but by inland migration from Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania, it has been well said, was the Mecca to which multitudes of the oppressed and discontented of Europe made their way in the eighteenth century. Of these the Germans and the Ulster Scots were by far the most numerous and important. Pennsylvania, thanks to the inspiration and influence of its founder and proprietor, William Penn, was the freest country in the world ; a country that welcomed men of all Christian sects and all nationalities ; a country in which there was cheap land in abundance. The interior of Pennsylvania, and Delaware, its satellite, was, moreover, peculiarly accessible from the sea. The main stream of Ulster-Scottish, as of German, immigration entered America through the ports of the Delaware. The Germans made for the most fertile soils and the most sheltered valleys, moving no further westwards than they could help ; much of the Atlantic slope behind the established Quaker settlements around Philadelphia was occupied by them. The Ulster Scots tended to push out beyond the Germans and to form the outer layer of the settled area. One line of advance was up the Delaware ; another lay through the debatable region along the Maryland–Pennsylvania border ; the main line was up the Susquehanna, on which Ulster Scots had reached Paxton (Dauphin county) by 1729. There they crossed the Susquehanna and by about 1750 had settled thickly in Cumberland valley, whence the main current turned south-west. A secondary current moved slowly up the Juniata, a tributary of the Susquehanna, and through it Ulster Scots were presently sending out feelers across the Alleghanies into the Ohio valley. Here they were in the region most bitterly contested between the French and the British in the frontier wars of 1753–63. After the expulsion of the French, Ulster Scots were foremost in settling the trans-Alleghany country of Pennsylvania. In the 'seventies Ulster-Scottish settlements were springing up on the upper waters of the Ohio, with Pittsburgh as their centre.

The movement south-west from the Cumberland valley paralleled a course already set by German immigrants. As the most accessible areas in south-eastern Pennsylvania became filled, the tide of German immigration entered the uplands and turned south, along the line of least resistance, into the Great Valley region. This section of the Appalachian highlands is a limestone zone of fertile corridors running between parallel mountain-ridges in a south-west direction from the upper Susquehanna (in N.E. Pennsylvania) to the headwaters of the Tennessee. It was easiest

of approach in Pennsylvania, where its eastern boundary, the South Mountain, is a low ridge pierced by the valleys of the Susquehanna and the Potomac. South of the Potomac the boundary is continued by the Blue Ridge, which formed a much more effective barrier. One of the most distinctive portions of the Great Valley, the Shenandoah valley, was virtually inaccessible from the east between the Potomac and the watershed of the James River. But in south-western Virginia water-gaps opened a way into the piedmont of Virginia and North Carolina. Thus the route that began at Philadelphia and entered the Great Valley by way of the Susquehanna descended into the back-county of Virginia and, running south across the Carolinas, eventually joined the main route inland from Charleston. From about 1730 to 1760 a populous flow of settlers, mainly Germans and Ulster Scots, passed along the corridors of the Great Valley. By 1730 the Germans had begun to occupy the Shenandoah valley and twenty years later their settlements extended into the Carolina piedmont. The Ulster-Scottish movement through the Great Valley was in part interfused with the German, but tended to spread more to the west. By 1775 Ulster Scots were distributed over the whole region from the middle Susquehanna to the headwaters of the Tennessee, as well as in the piedmont of Virginia and the Carolinas.

Place-names scattered over Pennsylvania mark the trail of the Ulster Scots: Donegal (Lancaster, Westmoreland, and Washington counties), Londonderry (Chester, Dauphin, and Mifflin counties), Dromore (Lancaster county), Antrim (Franklin county), Letterkenny (Franklin county), Strabane (Adams county), Monaghan (York county), Tyrone (Perry and Blair counties), Fermanagh (Juniata county), Armagh (Mifflin county), Rostrevor (Westmoreland county). But outside Pennsylvania, in the country we have been traversing, scarcely any such names occur. Orange county in Virginia and in North Carolina, and the town of Hillsboro, in North Carolina, are the only outstanding examples. And I should guess that the name Betsy Bell, borne by a mountain in the Shenandoah valley near the Ulster-Scottish settlement of Staunton[1] (Augusta county, Virginia), was imported by Ulstermen who had lived within sight of Bessy Bell near Newtown Stewart.

Before the war of independence, then, Ulster Scots were to be found throughout the frontier zone from Maine to South Carolina. The line of westward advance had now reached the crest of the Appalachians, and in western Pennsylvania a salient had been thrust out into the plains of the Ohio. Further south, in what were later to be the states of West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, other salients were beginning to take shape. Ulster Scots held a prominent place along the outer edge of all this advance.

(To be continued). T. W. Moody

[1] See J. T. Adams (ed.), *Atlas of American history* (N. Y., 1943), pl. 58.

JAMES McCANN

1840—1904

A PIONEER OF RURAL RESTORATION

BY AODH DE BLACAM

> Let us now praise men of renown, and our fathers in their generation . . . .
>
> And there are some of whom there is no memorial: who are perished, as if they had never been . . . .
>
> But these were men of mercy, whose godly deeds have not failed. Good things continue with their seed . . . . And their children for their sakes remain for ever.
>
> ECCLESIASTICUS, XLIV

HISTORY forgets the names of many of its makers. It remembers the victors, but not all those who made the victories possible: the pioneers, the vanguard. Yet, as the Preacher reminds us, we owe an equal pious debt to those " of whom there is no memorial," and to the men of renown. Perhaps we repay some portion of that debt when we recover and record the names of those who served God and saved a part of our inheritance. One such worthy of other days was James McCann, Member of Parliament for the St. Stephen's Green division from 1900 until his death in 1904. The elders among us remember the stir made by this vigorous personality, in what may be termed the field of constructive politics; for, though Mr. McCann was a typical son of Catholic and Nationalist rural Ireland, his interests were less in the struggle for self-government than in the uses to which self-government was to be put. His industrial and rural activities were revolutionary in a practical sense. He attempted many things, achieved some of them, and in all pointed the way for later statesmanship. His example and exhortations moved more minds than we can reckon. Certainly, they counted for much that later was achieved by men more completely armed with popular support.

I

To justify these claims, we must recall James McCann's life story. He was born in 1840 at Channon Rock, a place on the picturesque frontier of County Louth and Ulster—in a region which in those days was Gaelic-speaking and full of the robust traditions of the rapparees and the Martyr Primate: country that always has been the nursery of hardy patriotism. The McCanns are one of the oldest and best respected clans of the district. James was reared among tillage farmers and millers: the old farming life was the breath of his nostrils. He was taught by the Christian Brothers in Drogheda—one more *alumnus* of Brother Rice's admirable system of Catholic education.

At the age of 17 James McCann joined the staff of the Hibernian Bank in College Green. After about ten years, he gave up banking and entered the Dublin Stock Exchange, where, by his gifts of industry, integrity and wisdom, he prospered greatly. He married and was blessed with four children, with whom "good things continue". His only daughter entered religion and died at the Poor Clare Colettine Convent, Ballsbridge, Dublin ; James, his eldest son, is a Jesuit ; Arthur, who inherited the land from his father, died at Ardsallagh, Navan ; and John, the youngest son, is well known in business circles in Dublin.

In 1878—while he was yet under 40 years of age—James McCann took up residence in Simmonscourt Castle and began to devote his chief energies to the revival of rural life. In the 'nineties he retired wholly from the city, selling all his stocks and shares and buying land in Meath. He became owner of the former Russell estate and of a great part of the town of Navan. At this time he had become convinced, with an intuitive sense of things to come, that land alone was a sound investment and that rural life was the only secure life for the nations.

This was the occasion of James McCann's noteworthy contribution to history.

II

For there, in the plains of Meath, the man reared in the farmlands, who had returned to the land, set up a working model of the Ireland of patriotic hope.

At Telltown (commonly equated with the ancient Tailteann) McCann divided a ranch into small holdings. He built a number of model cottages, with proper water supply and other amenities, and settled young families of farmers in decent conditions. The landlord system still remained in most of Ireland : that system of ill-fame, which rested on exactions by a class that acknowledged no responsibility to the race. If all landlords had been of James McCann's kind, living and working with and for the people, there would have been no bitter land war, no humiliation on one side or shame on the other. Ultimately, the McCann holdings passed into the ownership of the occupiers. There are peasant proprietors there now, because a good landowner planted families in that place.

McCann led the district in breaking up the grasslands for tillage. " We'll drive the plough to the foot of Tara," that watchword of a patriot prelate might have been this layman's, too. Side by side with tillage, he laboured to set up home and rural industries, naturally connected with the land. His bacon factory and sawmills at Navan were followed by a furniture factory ; and to these enterprises the town of An Uaimh gratefully acknowledges its debt for present-day prosperity in woodworking and the furniture trade.

The practical patriot naturally proved in experience the evils of foreign

government. We need not assign every difficulty that beset James McCann's enterprises to deliberate and malicious obstruction from oversea: we will be content to say that he was brought up against disabilities that could not be removed as long as Ireland lacked a legislature responsible to Ireland and laws adapted to Ireland's particular needs. Above all, McCann found enterprise crippled at every turn by ridiculously high transport costs.

It became almost a passion with James McCann to rouse the nation to the need for transport reform. He promoted in 1894 a Bill to purchase the Barrow Navigation, and he recommended the similar purchase and revival of the canals as a cheap alternative to railway transport. He was chosen as Chairman of the Grand Canal. From his own estate he opened up canal communication with Drogheda by means of the Boyne Navigation which he bought out; and then, when he found that sea-transport also was unduly expensive, he purchased ships. In a word, he endeavoured by direct action to give his little rural kindgom access to the outer world—business in and business out—at reasonable costs. Single-handed in such an effort, with all vested interests sullenly opposed to him, he could not succeed completely in his peaceful revolution. That could be accomplished only in a self-governing State.

Persons of distinction were his friends, helpers and in a sense disciples. General Sir William Butler admired him; Mrs. Alice Stopford Green was interested in all that he did; he was helped much by the strong friendship and staunch support of the Rev. Patrick Farrell, P.P., Ballivor, Co. Meath; and Arthur Griffith was fired by the difficulties besetting the settlement in Meath to write many attacks—in the *United Irishman, Sinn Féin* and *Nationality*—on the English transport companies that did so little to help Irish producers to market their wares profitably. Griffith's zeal for a nationalised Irish transport system was probably generated in McCann's experience.

McCann himself maintained a paper, the *Irish Peasant*, which was notable for the writings of P. Kenny ("Pat") and Liam P. O Riain on Irish industry, tillage, transport, as well as the Irish language and mystical national idealism. Later, in a novel, Mr. O Riain left a thinly-disguised portrait of the leader of this strange movement of endeavour. In a history of Irish patriotic journalism the *Irish Peasant* cannot be forgotten: it exerted an imaginative influence, sometimes erratic but always considerable. We who were young in those days were inspired and taught by the *Peasant* almost as much as by Griffith's more famous weekly.

III

In Parliament, McCann sat for four years as an Independent Nationalist. He spoke there, in 1901, on the railway question. The rates on transport of agricultural produce, he said, were higher in Ireland

than anywhere else in the world, and he complained that the Railway Companies bought up all competitors in order to maintain a private monopoly, injurious to the public interest. He instanced Germany, France, and other continental lands, that had taken drastic measures to relieve the countryside from the stranglehold of private transport monopolists. He was disappointed, however, to find himself speaking to a deaf House; this honest, practical idealist from Meath could not engage the sympathy of that many-minded assembly.

At home, McCann pleaded with others, who responded not much more. He addressed bankers, urging that a voluntary effort be made to turn Ireland's full monetary resources to Ireland's service.

> Are any of the deposits in the Joint Stock or Savings Banks the property of the peasants? [he asked].
>
> I am sure they are not, except in the rare instances in which money is acquired from sources other than the land they occupy and till. But, curious to say, if examined and carefully traced, these deposits will be found to be, in their initial stage, directly and indirectly the produce of the peasant's labour and capital, although not belonging to him, being the tolls and charges of various intermediaries levied on the produce of their labour and capital.
>
> And then these deposits are made up to a considerable extent from the taxes, Imperial and local, extracted from these people, which find their way direct to the banks instead of remaining, as they should remain. with the peasant until such time as he can be a taxable entity, and until he has acquired the means to procure for himself and his family wholesome food, decent clothing and housing.

Mark how this well-to-do man was concerned for justice: justice for the common folk. He found that there could be no true well-being for the people until the over-riding political problem was settled. A nation with a rankling grievance cannot be normal in its social and economic life. " Nationality and its accompanying sentiments," said James McCann in 1902, " exercise an enormous influence on the minds and imaginations of the people, and lie deep down in their nature . . . . The continued exodus of the people, now going on without check for over 50 years and daily in evidence before their eyes, resulting in the exile of their kith and kin, exasperates and tends to keep alive in their minds memories and traditions of old wrongs." He lamented that while benevolent persons organised societies " for wild birds and jail birds, for weaklings and the poor," there was " no association to keep boys at home."

Ireland was " an inverted pyramid." The interests of the many were subordinated to the profits of the few. The *régime* was indifferent to the peasants, " the backbone of the country." McCann's efforts to help the folk on the land, thwarted so often by the State's indifference and by private selfishness, convinced him of the need for radical change. Not abstract or romantic patriotism (though that in itself might be a good thing), but grim economic experience taught this conservatively-

minded man that the existing order must be altered. " Why," he asked, " when occasionally private enterprise in Ireland seems to touch the spot, commencing on the foundation of the peasantry, why is such enterprise or business nipped in the bud and never allowed to grow and fructify ? "

To that question Arthur Griffith was giving a blunt answer, week by week, in his patriotic articles : the answer that John Mitchel gave, in fierce indignant words, in an earlier time. The rulers of Ireland, in those critical years, heeded neither the mild language of McCann nor the angry words of Griffith : they were deaf to both pleas and warnings. Thus, in the defeat of James McCann's generous spirit, was typified the obstruction which made the later outburst of force virtually inevitable.

IV

Something must be said of the personal nature of this patriot. James McCann, in his homely and hearty character, was typical of the stock from which he sprang. He was " good company ". He delighted in hospitality. Of his father it had been said by the countryfolk that *corn grew on his grave*—a proverbial way of testifying to his generosity. James McCann's table was ever open, with a particular welcome to the clergy. Canon Horris, parish priest of Donnybrook, was one of his most frequent guests and staunchest friends. Father James Healy, the parish priest of Bray, so famous for his wit, was ever welcome : and of this, an anecdote is often told. It seems that Father Healy, on account of a previous invitation to the Viceregal Lodge, declined to join the McCann family at dinner one Christmas Day. His Reverence arrived at Westland Row station and summoned a jarvey, asking to be driven to that destination in the Park.

" The Viceregal Lodge ? " says the jarvey. " I'll be d——d if I drive a priest there this blessed Christmas Day."

" Well, drive me to James McCann's of Simmonscourt."

" Ah, get in, Father. I'll drive you there all right."

If James McCann liked good company and laughter, this bent was in true harmony with a robust Catholic spirituality. He was accustomed, in the height of his financial career, to read a chapter of the *Imitation of Christ* every morning before setting out for business. " Let Thy will be mine, and let my will always follow Thine, and agree perfectly with it. Let me always will, or not will, the same with Thee, and let me not be able to will, or not to will, otherwise than as Thou willest or willest not." What spiritual writer is nearer than the author of the *Imitation* to the characteristic spirit of our Catholic countryside ?

At one period, James McCann was accustomed to compose and write a prayer, once a year, thanking Almighty God for His favours and

blessings. Three of these scripts, on business note-paper, are in the possession of a son. Here are two :—

I

August 3rd 1887.—I am thirty years in Dublin to-day ; I wish to thank God for keeping me alive and making me, as I hope, a better man to-day than I was for so many of those years.

It pleased Providence to send me afflictions and crosses, though small in relation to my sins. Still, I hope and believe that I was arrested by these afflictions in the career in which I was running of complete forgetfulness of God, of His commandments and His mercy.

The ardent hope of my heart to-day is that, through the merciful Providence of God, every day, till the end of my life, may shew an increase on my part in the love I owe to God and my neighbour ; an increase in humility and all virtues most pleasing to my Heavenly Father. I do not ask for an absence of suffering ; I ask that the Holy Will of God may be perfectly and entirely accomplished in me.

II

St. James' Day, July 25th 1889.—I thank my Father in Heaven from my heart for His goodness in bringing me to this day, when all I ask from my Father is power to glorify Him ; and to be forgiven my past sins ; and grace from Him never to offend Him any more.

I cannot forget in former years the letters from my earthly father, on this anniversary, [counselling me] to remember St. James' Day, my patron saint, and to invoke his aid with my Heavenly Father for my spiritual advancement. Oh, may this great Saint continue for the rest of my existence to supplicate God that I may be kept from sin and that I may one day see Heaven !

Those who knew James McCann in the home tell that this so-devoted soul seldom spoke of religion ; for his was the way of humility and silent example. In all things he laid no constraint upon his family. This attitude impressed young minds more than exhortations ; it won from the young reverence, affection and emulation. What were the afflictions and crosses that James McCann mentions in the foregoing prayer, no one knew. His family life was edifying and happy.

When James McCann died, in 1904, the esteem in which he was held, by the highest in the land, was manifested by the attendance at his funeral of the Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh and the Archbishop of Dublin.

V

What was the influence of this worthy life on our country's history ? We have indicated that many of the movers in the patriotic cause learnt from James McCann—from his words, his example, and his experience. It has been a main purpose of the national movement, in its social aspect, to break up the grasslands ; to restore or strengthen a population of smallholders, and to revive tillage. No doubt, this ideal was envisaged by other men before McCann and by contemporaries independently of him ; but he probably did more than any other single person of his generation

to promote it. If " Tillage " became a watchword of the young men of the Gaelic cause, *Sinn Féin* and the Volunteers, the propaganda that radiated from James McCann's land was largely responsible. How many of us, in our youth, learnt from the ardent pages of the *Irish Peasant* to regard rural regeneration as our main social purpose !

Since self-government was won, perhaps by methods that James McCann never envisaged and in conditions of which he little dreamed, the tillage revival that was his greatest interest has gone ahead vigorously. Division of estates into small holdings has covered the rural map with subsistence farms such as he, with one man's scope, established for his neighbours. The small farmers, again, are well housed now, much on the lines of his model cottages. If we fail to preserve or, after preserving, fail to increase and multiply " a strong peasantry, their country's pride," it will be through some unimaginable desertion of our national purpose, in a time when at last its accomplishment is feasible.

Through the years of the emergency we owe our people's very survival, under Divine Providence, to the fact that the tillage programme had been undertaken before the World War broke. Had Ireland in 1939 been the grass-land of 1900, it would have been impossible to bring back tillage enough to provide our whole population with bread, in the time of the general blockade. Never, in these years of European anguish, have the people of Ireland lacked sufficient bread and other essential foodstuffs. For that, we have to thank the success of the tillage movement, of which James McCann was a precursor.

Rural industries, closely related to the tillage farms, were set up in Navan by McCann's enterprise. What he did so well, on a private scale, the nation has done under a patriotic Government in the twenty-six liberated counties.

Griffith, with his eye on McCann's experiments, advocated nationalisation of transport. He taught that railways and canals must be unified as a national service, nationally owned and controlled. (Road motor transport was not in being in Griffith's time.) The colleagues and disciples of Griffith who, as successive Governments, became our rulers did not forget his insistence on the importance of cheap and efficient transport. Stage by stage, a unified system was developed. The railways were amalgamated. The motor road services, and later the city tramways, were brought under the same direction. In 1945 the liberated area possesses a unified transport, under an authority responsible to the State, so that the State can ensure the farmers forever against exploitation by private concerns and guarantee to agriculture, especially the small holdings, a cheap and efficient transport, and thus abolish once and for all the difficulties of transport that James McCann strove to overcome.

It is true that Griffith's plan of nationalisation has not been adopted. Our legislators deemed it better to commit transport, in effect, to a public

utility concern answerable to the State. This expedient has been defended against nationalisation, on the ground that it yields the same unified national service, but lifts the concern out of the arena of party politics. It is not our purpose here to go into a complicated question : we wish simply to stress the fact that what James McCann advocated half a century ago has been recognised to-day as a necessity : a reformed and unified transport service, controlled in the public interest. It may be well, however, to remind some people that nationalisation, or public control in any other form, of a *service* differs from nationalisation of *industry* or of landed property. Public ownership or control of a service is not Socialism. It does not conflict with private ownership of farms or factories. It may be even essential to the preservation of that private ownership. Divide up land, establish general small ownership, set up small industries and workships : then you will have the ideal Distributive system, no doubt. Yes, but your small farms and local workshops will be at the mercy of unknown masters if the services needful to their progress—transport, above all—are arbitrarily controlled. John in Ballybeg must have equal assurance, with Thomas of Ballymore, of safe and efficient transport for his produce to the cities and ports, or he cannot survive : his trade will be throttled by manipulated transport costs, until he sells out to Thomas, who will be lord of both places.

VI

So much for what James McCann did, in practical demonstration of what we may term Distributive principles, and the subsequent promotion of those doctrines in a self-governing country.

There was another example that he set, even more precious, which cannot be copied by our legislators except in their personal, private capacity. James McCann was not content to live in the city, writing articles on how the countryside should be led. For one thing, he was not a writer ; and for another, he had the tradition of country life in his blood and bones and happily possessed the means to follow out his ideal. That is to say, he went to the countryside, lived and worked it, and taught by his acts. He gave the countryside what it needs most of all, personal local leadership, a local spokesman and a local teacher. He taught small men in leading them, and he taught men of substance by his example.

Everyone who lives and works and thinks, in our countryside to-day, will confirm the statement that the supreme need there is enlightened leadership. The old Anglo-Irish " gentry " never gave it. There was no Coke of Norfolk among them. They were alien in speech, religion and allegiance ; and by some tragic unteachability, they never recognised any duty to the community from which they drew their wealth. Behind iron-shuttered windows, in their mansions, they diced their lives, and their splendid opportunities, away. When they went, " unwept, un-

honoured, and unsung" (it was Standish O'Grady who applied Scott's withering words to these *fainéants*), they left a vacuum that has not been filled. The natural leaders of rural life, whom they had expelled at the Plantations, had no known descendants to resume the place of "O'Shaughnessy in Gort" and "O'Dowd in Ardnaree"—to borrow proverbial phrases for the olden chiefs of the land. Too large a proportion of the patriot leaders were townsmen, who lacked both talent and taste for country life. Too many of those elected in the country to represent their people in the Capital, proceeded forthwith to make their homes in the Capital, and were seen no more in the fields and fairs, except at election time. Watching this tendency—this sudden, headlong slant of life to that city which was in history the Capital of the Pale—many observers have wished that Griffith's somewhat Utopian proposal[1] had been adopted and, by any possible drastic means, effected: to wit, that the Capital of the new State should be set up in Athlone, in the centre of the land, responsive to the life of all the Provinces, instead of in a seaport on the country's eastern edge.

During twenty years of self-government, Ireland has concentrated so much of its new activities in Dublin that the city and suburbs now hold a preponderating share of power—a share still growing. We are in sight of a condition in which the Irish State will resemble Scotland, where Greater Glasgow is almost the whole country, with the counties as lightly populated tourist grounds or mechanised farms: or vast Australia, which is almost a wilderness, except for one big city in each State. Every time that a new institution, a new factory, a centralised Borstal (for that is the latest example) is set up in Greater Dublin for some specious reason of convenience, the city sucks more of the life out of the land, and the high blood pressure at the nation's brain is intensified. With every access of population, costs of living rise, and wages with them, increasing the disproportion compared with the country, so that the temptation of high wages draws more and more foolish lads to the costly city, and the slant from the land grows ever steeper.

For, truly, what is worst in this ill-considered tendency of centralisation is that the young people throughout the countryside have set their eyes and hearts on getting to Dublin, to Dublin, to Dublin—for their holidays, for their honeymoons, and most of all for their lives. Dublin has taken on the glamour of New York. Country life, country joys, country ways have lost their attraction. Fifty years ago, to win ownership of the land that he tilled, Patrick strove and went to jail. To-day, Michael his grandson is looking for a chance to slip out of the improved farm and to get a Jackeen's job among the cinemas and jazz-halls, where his children, in

[1] This was put forward in *Sinn Féin*, about 1911, in an article which pointed out the economic and intellectual advantages of making the geographic centre the political centre.

turn, will dwindle in the fine new tenements. Patrick worked his few acres and earned from the landlord some few shillings a week for seasonal labour. Michael spends on fags and dances twice what Patrick spent on rearing a family, and is discontent in conditions that Patrick hardly hoped to attain.

Until our patriots restore leadership to the whole countryside, as James McCann did to one district, the deadly process must continue. Young people still will be saying: "Why should we live here, when our Deputies get away as soon as they can?" The parishes still will be peopled by the unfortunates (as they deem themselves) who have been left behind, until our leading men build homes in the country again, interest themselves in the folk, leading in constructive works and in amusements—building, for example, bowling alleys for the lads and dancing-decks at the cross-roads. Let good leaders exhibit in country homes the joys of country life, with all the incomparable interests of gardening and craftsmanship; let their wives demonstrate the health and thrift and happiness of the rightly-managed house and dairy. Let beagling be revived, with the horn summoning a townland to the meeting-hill and the parish bard celebrating the event: "*It was January the twenty-first, the day being fresh and clear . . . .*" Let the *feis* and the *ceilidhe*, the hurling match and even the local pilgrimage, be the social events of the year. Let the parish ceremonies, centering at the church with its Eucharistic processions, be the delight of all, binding the little community into the unity of a larger family. Thus, and thus only, can the terrifying decay of the countryside be checked. James McCann pointed the way.

VII

As to the economics of rural revival, they are simple. The country can support three times its present population in health and strength. A century ago, nearly a quarter of a million people lived in Armagh alone, that small and naturally hardy county, on the border of which James McCann was reared: and not merely did this immense population thrive in stalwart men and women, on poorish land, but corn and butter and linen were exported. All this could be again, south of the Border. With modern advantages—scientific methods, good drainage, tractors and electricity, every county in the liberated area could support yet greater numbers than before the Famine. Certainly, at least twice the present rural population is needed to keep life in the villages and to give shops, forges, workshops, enough business to prosper.

Ah yes, some say, but will the young men and women marry and rear families on the meagre money that small farming yields? To this the answer is that life is better than gold and far better than paper wealth. The young family in the countryside welcomes children; in the city, it fears their coming—let there be no mincing of that grim truth, the

MENE, MENE written on the walls of a doomed civilisation. No mouth can be too many on the land. Mothers who know how to prepare the most nourishing and the most frugal fare—the soups and gruels and oatmeal and buttermilk that fed the giants of another generation—always can find nourishment for newcomers. The country's resources in sustenance are elastic beyond all that ever has been asked of them; and, as numbers grow, help grows and production rises in geometrical progression. Intensive cultivation is the most fruitful and profitable of all; but at present we have not population enough to call for it.

A farmer can find food for any number of mouths; yes, but not money for any number of pockets. Food comes from the soil, money from the market. The soil is, for practical argument, inexhaustible; the market is but a margin in some external party's control. When, therefore, money wages are raised in the countryside, the employing farmer has to reduce his number of employees; for his market does not increase to produce the additional money needed. He gives up mending walls; he ceases to trim his hedges; he impoverishes the land by the labour of James, who goes off to the dole in a town, while James's wages are used to give Andrew, Peter, Jerry and Barney the price of another few packets of fags, or means to back another losing horse at the betting shop. This is the absurd and desolating economy that is wearing down our parishes. A McCann, when the cry is raised for higher money wages, would give different counsel. "Let the workers," he might say, "be given instead a larger share of the land's produce. Let the labourers of all Ireland be treated as they are in part of my native Louth, where they are given houses, the grazing of a cow, a strip of land for their own little crops, and the use of the master's ploughs and cultivators." That system means that every working family lives food free. Consider what this would mean to a city family, that spends its high wages, as fast as they are earned, on costly food! To be food free and house free: that means for the working family that most of wages are saved money. The country worker, if wise, can become an owner, a saver, a man of substance. On much higher wages, the townsman cannot. The Louth system, then, is the sane system, dictated by the very laws of life: by the nature of things, and surely by Christian counsel.

It can be extended everywhere. This must be done, if the historic nation is to survive in the historic countryside. We must have, not one McCann in Meath, but a man like him in every parish and heirs of his fine Christian patriotic ideals in every townland. Go back to your parishes, O men of substance and education: it is there you are needed: elsewhere, you live only to yourselves, not to your nation's need; and not of you, unless you copy James McCann, will it be written:

"Let us now praise men of renown."

A. DE BLACAM

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF IRISHMEN IN FRANCE

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

Part XIII

Murphy, John, sea captain. Born at Drogheda *circa* 1755. In his youth he joined the merchant service between Ireland and the continent, and after some years became captain of a trading vessel plying between France and Ireland. His vessel lay in Killala Bay—probably by design—on the day that General Humbert arrived there with a French expeditionary force in August 1798. Wishing to inform the French government of his safe arrival, Humbert employed him to carry a despatch to Paris. On reaching the French capital the Irish sea captain was presented with a sword and a pair of pistols by the Directory. He was also placed on the list of officers of the French navy, and later Napoleon appointed him Grand Pilot to the French fleet at Brest with the rank of captain. There is a secret letter in the Irish State Paper Office regarding him written, some months after the Insurrection in Ireland, by the British consul at Hamburg to the English Foreign Secretary. It runs : " Murphy, a native of Drogheda, once had a vessel of 14 guns which beat off all the King's Cutters. He lives near Killala. He went to France with Humbert's aide-de-camp with the account of his having effected a landing, returned and took over 20 or 30 rebels to France. He was made captain in their navy and is gone back to Ireland, it is presumed, in his smuggling boat with directions how to act." After the Bourbon restoration in 1814 Murphy, who was a strong Bonapartist, was compelled to retire on a small pension and settled at Nantes. The merchants of that city gave him the command of a vessel with which he made many voyages to different parts of the world. After an adventurous career he lived to a round old age, dying at Nantes in 1836. He is the subject of a poem in Irish in the collection of Connacht verses entitled " Abhráin Ghaedhilge an Iarthair ".

Murphy, Marie Louise (" La petite Murfi "), courtesan. Born at Rouen on 21 October 1737, she was the daughter of Daniel Murphy, an Irish soldier in the French service who became a shoemaker. He was one of the Irish colony settled at Rouen in the eighteenth century in the quarter round the church of St. Eloi. Her mother was Margaret Hickey. Murphy removed to Paris where, after his death, his widow became a dealer in old clothes near the Palais Royal. Some of her daughters, who were noted for their handsome appearance, became actresses, while Marie Louise became a model at the Academy of Painting. By Madame de

Pompadour's contrivance she posed for a picture of the Madonna in the Queen's oratory, so that she should come under the notice of Louis XV. The result was that she was admitted as its first occupant into the notorious Parc aux Cerfs at Versailles in 1753. After giving birth to a daughter by Louis XV in the following year, she left Versailles. In 1755 she married Major Beaufranchet when the king gave her a dowry of 200,000 livres. Her sister Brigitte, according to the Marquis d'Argenson in his " Memoirs ", succeeded her in the Parc aux Cerfs. Her husband was killed in the Seven Years War, and a son of their marriage became a page at the court of Versailles. He joined the army, rose to the rank of General and was the officer who, at the execution of Louis XVI, ordered the drums to beat when the king attempted to address the people. Soon after her husband's death, Marie Louise Murphy married a revenue official, on whose death in 1783 she received, till the Revolution, a pension of 12,000 francs. During the Reign of Terror she was imprisoned as a suspect under the name of O'Murphy. She died at Paris on 11 December 1814. It is said that she sat to Boucher for the beautiful profile of Saint John preaching in the desert in the tableau in the church of Saint Louis at Paris.

Murphy, Patrick, soldier. Born at Ballyadam, Co. Wexford, on 29 September 1779. Emigrating to France he entered in 1800 the army of that country in the twenty-sixth infantry regiment. He was appointed lieutenant in 1806 and, two years later, became secretary to General des Essar. The latter was wounded at Austerlitz in 1805 and asked as a favour from Napoleon that Murphy should be appointed his aide-de-camp and should be decorated with the ribbon of the Legion of Honour. The request was granted, and henceforth the Irish officer received rapid promotion and fought gallantly in the various battles of the Napoleonic campaigns. He was wounded at Eylau, Essling, Krasnau and Champaubert, and in 1813 was made a Baron and decorated with the Cross of the Legion of Honour for his valour and efficiency. At the battle of Leipzig in 1813, where his general was badly wounded, Murphy took command of the division. After the Bourbon restoration he was appointed to the command of the Legion Hohenlohe and later became maréchal-de-camp. During the reign of Charles X he was transferred to the post of inspector-general of the army. After the Revolution of 1830 General Murphy was entrusted with the command of the strategic fortress of Lille and, when danger of war had passed, was transferred to command of the department of Creuse. In 1838 he retired from active service, and a long and distinguished military career was ended in 1843 by his death at Altenstat.

Some letters in the Dugast-Matifeux collection of Revolution manuscripts in the Public Library at Nantes show that an Irishman of the same name (Patrice Murphy) was connected with Carrier's atrocities during the Reign of Terror in that city.

MURPHY, RICHARD, soldier. Born at Borris, Co. Carlow, he was the son of Richard Murphy (whose brother Captain Matthew was killed at the battle of Landen in 1693). He entered Lally's Irish regiment in the French service and fought in that corps at Fontenoy and other battles of the War of the Austrian Succession. Having gone to Scotland to support Prince Charles Edward in 1745, he was taken prisoner at Inverness after Culloden; but, as an exchange prisoner, he was enabled to return to France. In 1757 he accompanied his chief, General Count Thomas Lally, to India. Holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel, he took part in the chief engagements of the strenuous campaign in that country and, after the French defeat at Wandewash in 1759, was taken prisoner. Soon after returning to France he retired from active service.

MURRAY, BARTHOLOMEW, physician. Born in Co. Clare in 1695, he went for his education to Paris, where he got his medical degree. Some years later he was appointed professor-regent of medicine in the university of the French capital. He became a generous benefactor to the Irish College, for the accommodation of whose students he purchased a house in 1761. In the same year he founded sixteen burses in the college, directing that three of them should be allocated to students from Co. Clare who were descendants of Denis and Patrick Murray. (One of these burses was taken advantage of by James Bartholomew Blackwell, a notable officer of the Revolutionary army, who was a nephew of Dr. Murray—*see* BLACKWELL). A fourth burse was provided for the relations of John O'Neil, superior of the Irish College, and failing these for the O'Neils of Fews, Co. Armagh, while the remaining twelve were intended for students from various Irish dioceses. Among other generous gifts he made a foundation to the expenses of the college infirmary, and he also provided prizes for the two best sermons each year in the Irish and English languages. He died on 8 January 1767 in his seventy-second year and was buried in the Collège des Lombards. A memorial tablet that was placed over his tomb has been removed to the Irish College in the Rue des Irlandais.

His brother James Murray, who became a priest, belonged to the Order of Preachers and, dying in the same year, was also buried in the Collège des Lombards. A nephew and namesake (Bartholomew Murray) was a student at the Irish College at the outbreak of the Revolution. He was one of the signatories of the address to the National Convention in November 1792 congratulating that body on the victories of the Revolutionary army. Arrested in October 1793 as a British subject, he petitioned for release to continue his studies, so that he could take advantage of the burse which his uncle Dr. John MacSheehy, physician at the court of Louis XVI, had provided for him.

NAGLE, SIR RICHARD, royal secretary. Son of James Nagle of Clogher, Co. Cork, where he was born in 1636. He was appointed attorney-general for Ireland under James II and accompanied that monarch to France where, under the title of Secretary of State, he was one of the rulers of the Jacobite court. He died at Saint Germain-en-Laye on 4 April 1699 in his sixty-third year.

During the eighteenth century some members of the family were prominent figures at the French court, while others were distinguished officers of the Irish Brigade. James Nagle, grandson of Sir Richard, was a page at Saint Germain-en-Laye (where he married Frances Butler de Galmoy) early in the century, while in its later decades Madame Nagle was one of the ladies-in-waiting to Queen Marie Antoinette. Among several officers of the name who fought at Fontenoy was Baron Nagle, captain in Berwick's Irish regiment, who was wounded at that battle. James Nagle, already mentioned as a page at the court of Saint Germain-en-Laye, became a major in Dillon's corps and was a central figure in a legal case in the French courts in 1784, when the status of the Irish in France was discussed. (For details *see* KEARNEY, JAMES).

NAGLE, BARON THOMAS PATRICK. Son of James and great-grandson of Sir Richard Nagle, he was born at Cambrai on 16 March 1771 and began his distinguished military career as an officer in Berwick's Irish regiment. Espousing the cause of the Revolution, he fought in its army against the allied monarchies of Europe. In 1798 he was chef de bataillon in the Armée d'Angleterre, destined for the invasion of England and Ireland, and later in that year he accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt. He fought through the Napoleonic campaigns in Germany and Russia, and was wounded at Wagram and other engagements. He was created Baron of the Empire in 1810 and, after the restoration of the Bourbons, was appointed inspector of infantry. In 1821 the honour of Commander of the Legion of Honour was conferred on him, and on 9 November of the following year he died at La Rochelle. His son, to whom the title descended, was deputy for Charente Inferieure in the Legislative Assembly of 1849 and died at La Rochelle in December 1878.

NIHILL, JAMES, law official. He belonged to a branch of the O'Neil family which settled in Clare and Limerick after the defeat at Kinsale in 1601. After the attainder of his family in 1691 he followed James II to France, and became the *avocat* of the Stuart king at Saint Germain-en-Laye. Several of his sons became officers of the Irish Brigade—one was killed and another wounded at Fontenoy. He died at Saint Germain in 1747. A kinsman, Sir Balthazar (Walter) Nihill, was in the last decade of the eighteenth century a brigadier-general in the service of the king of Naples. He was one of the gallant Irish officers who saved the king's

life at Velletri, when his majesty was surprised by the Imperial forces under the Irish general Count Browne.

The Nihill family was connected by marriage with that of the illustrious bishop John O'Molony (*see* O'MOLONY). The latter, immediately before his death at Paris in 1702, left large sums for founding burses in various colleges in that city. Sixty years afterwards some disagreement regarding the burses arose between the college of Louis le Grand and members of the Nihill family residing in France. The names of the latter, as mentioned in the document in the " archives nationales " dealing with the claims, are as follows : " Jean Nihill de Molony, écuyer, doctor of medicine of the faculty of Caen, consulting physician to the (Stuart) king of England and the king of Poland, residing in Paris . . . . in the parish of Saint Sulpice . . . . ; John Paul Marie Nihill, age twenty one years, student in theology, and Victor Nihill, canon of Neuville in Alsace, age seventeen years, student of logic, both presented to the burses by the said Jean Nihill de Molony, their father, and at present on the foundation of the Collège de Navarre in the parish of Saint Etienne du Mont."

NUGENT, CHRISTOPHER, soldier. Eldest son of Francis Nugent of Dardistown, Co. Meath by Bridget, sister of William Dungan who was created Earl of Limerick by James II. After taking part in various engagements in the Jacobite war in Ireland, he entered the French service and served with the Irish Horse Guards in Flanders, where he was wounded four times at the battle of Landen in 1693. Later as an officer in Sheldon's Irish regiment he went through the campaigns in Italy and Germany. In the former country he fought under Villeroi at Chiari in 1701 and under Vendôme at Luzzara in the following year. In 1703, during the campaign in Germany, he was wounded at the battle of Spire where, when the fortunes of war were going against the French, Colonel Nugent at the head of two hundred Irish cavalry charged two regiments of the Imperial Cuirassiers and routed them—an action which led to the victory of the French. During the battle he received seven wounds. In 1705 the name of Sheldon's regiment was changed to that of Nugent, and at its head he fought at Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet. Without the permission of the French government he went with James III to Scotland for the attempted insurrection of 1715. This led to a protest from the British ambassador in Paris, which resulted in his being deprived of his regiment. It was, however, transferred to his son, Count de Nugent, who was then only seventeen years old. (This regiment became subsequently that of FitzJames and was disbanded in 1762, having dwindled down to a mere shred from its losses at Rosbach and other battles of the Seven Years War). Though deprived of his regiment in favour of his son and though his active military career had ended, Colonel Nugent received further promotion from the French government. He married

Bridget, daughter of the 9th Lord Trimleston, by whom he had the son who succeeded him. He died on 4 June 1731.

NUGENT, FRANCIS, ecclesiastic. Born in 1571 he was son of Sir Thomas Nugent of Moyrath, Co. Westmeath, by Mary, daughter of Lord Delvin. In his youth he went to France for his education and obtained his doctorate in theology at the universities of Paris and Louvain. In his twentieth year he entered the Capuchin Order and in 1610, with the help of his cousin Father Christopher Cusack (*see* CUSACK, CHRISTOPHER), he founded the Irish college at Lille. The site and house were purchased by him from a fund raised by two Dublin merchants and through the generous action of a citizen of Lille. The college was intended by him exclusively for students who were natives of Leinster and Meath. (It is interesting to note that one hundred years later the Council of the Archdukes declared that the nomination of students, who should be natives of Leinster, was vested in the Irish Capuchins of Bar-sur-Aube). Father Nugent also founded a Capuchin convent at Charleville in Champagne, which became a training ground of missionaries for Ireland. The convents which he established at Charleville and Sedan were in 1685 given up by the Order in exchange for those of Wassy and Bar-sur-Aube as the result of an arrangement with the French Capuchins. Not a small portion of the money for these various foundations was collected from Father Nugent's and Father Cusack's relatives in the French army and at the court of France. After a strenuous life Father Nugent died on 3 November 1685.

A cousin of Father Nugent—Richard Nugent, son of Christopher Nugent (Lord Delvin) by Mary Butler of Kilcash—succeeded in 1684 to the title of 3rd Earl of Westmeath. Going to France he entered the Order of the Capuchins in that country and, becoming prior of the Irish Franciscan convent at Wassy, died there in April 1714. He was the elder brother of John Nugent, 5th Earl of Westmeath. (*See* following.)

NUGENT, JOHN (5th EARL OF WESTMEATH), soldier. Younger son of Christopher Nugent (Lord Delvin) by Mary Butler of Kilcash. As a cadet in the Horse Guards of James II he fought in the Irish Jacobite war at the Boyne and Limerick. In 1691 he went to France, where he served on the coast and in Flanders till the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. He then embarked on a brilliant and varied military career. Attached as captain to Sheldon's Irish regiment in 1698, he was present at the battle of Chiari in 1701 and at the siege of Cremona and the battle of Luzzara in 1702. He served with the army of Flanders in 1704 and fought gallantly at Ramillies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet, as well as at the sieges of Douai and Quesnoi in 1712. Under the Marshals Maillebois and Noailles he took part in the battles and sieges of the campaign in Germany. Holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel in FitzJames's Irish cavalry regiment, he

retired from active service in June 1748. Five years later he succeeded his brother Thomas as 5th Earl of Westmeath, and died in retirement at Nivelles in Brabant on 3 July 1754 in his eighty-third year.

He married Margaret, daughter of Count Molza of the duchy of Modena in Italy, and was succeeded by his son Thomas, 6th Earl of Westmeath. The latter conformed to the established religion—the first Protestant peer of the house of Nugent.

NUGENT, SIR PETER (CHEVALIER PIERRE DE NUGENT), soldier. Relative of preceding. In 1717 he became a lieutenant in France in the cavalry regiment of his relative Christopher Nugent. (*See* NUGENT, CHRISTOPHER.) He tought through all the battles and sieges of the War of the Austrian Succession. At Fontenoy he was made a brigadier for his gallant conduct on the battlefield. Sailing for Scotland to assist Prince Charles Edward in the Forty-five, he was captured at sea. After being exchanged as a prisoner, he resumed his military career and in 1748 became lieutenant-colonel of his regiment on the resignation of Major-General John Nugent. (*See* NUGENT, JOHN). He went through the Seven Years War under the Prince de Soubise in Germany and fought valiantly at Rosbach in 1757. After being promoted lieutenant-general of the armies of the king, he retired from active service and died in 1775.

Many other members of the Nugent family were distinguished officers in the French service. One of them, Chevalier Louis Francis de Nugent, has the distinction of being the last officer of the Irish Brigade in the service of France. He died on 8 July 1859 at the Château de Mesnules near Versailles.

The family is still represented in France in the Counts de Nugent.

O'BRENNAN, PIERRE, ecclesiastic. Born of Irish parents in 1739 at Compiègne. After ordination as a priest he was appointed curé of Magny-Guerville (Maniquerville), near Chartres. In 1791 he was deported after his refusal to take the oath of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. On his returning to France soon afterwards he was placed under arrest and arraigned before the Revolutionary Tribunal at Paris. He was charged with attacking those priests who had taken the oath, with expressing anti-Revolutionary sentiments and with interfering with the disposal of the title deeds of manors. Convicted of being "an enemy of that nation," he was guillotined at Paris on 23 July 1794. He was author of a brochure entitled "La France à imiter, ou l'Etablissement de la Republique francaise sur les débris de la Monarchie" (1793).

O'BRIEN, CHARLES (6th VISCOUNT CLARE)—*see* CLARE.

O'BRIEN, DANIEL (EARL OF LISMORE), soldier and Jacobite agent.

Born in 1683 at Perpignan in France, he was son of Morrough O'Brien of Carrigogunell, Co. Limerick, officer in the French army (*see* O'BRIEN, MURROUGH), and Julian Callaghan. Entering the French service, he rose to the rank of colonel and was created Chevalier de Saint Lazare in 1716. A zealous Jacobite he served as a link between the Stuart princes and the French ministry, and in 1745 he was appointed envoy and representative of James III at the court of France. A treaty, which promised assistance to Prince Charles Edward, was signed at Fontainebleau on 24 October 1745 by O'Brien on behalf of James and by the Marquis d'Argenson representing Louis XV. In 1747 he was created Earl of Lismore as a reward for his Jacobite activities, and soon afterwards was summoned to Rome by James III to act as secretary of state to his majesty. There is a considerable number of his letters in the Stuart MSS. which show him as one of the chief actors in all the secret Jacobite movements and intrigues of his time. It was said by his enemies that, with his wife and Cardinal Tencin, he received large sums of money to persuade Prince Henry Stuart (Charles Edward's brother) to accept a cardinalate—an event which Hanoverian England anxiously desired. This proposal created a schism in the Jacobite party, the older adherents of which ranged round the king against his son, Prince Charles Edward.

O'Brien died at Rome in 1759. On being informed of his death James III declared that he had " lost a true friend, an old and faithful servant." He has been described as joining all the abilities of a statesman and the politeness of the courtier to the martial spirit of his soldier father.

O'BRIEN, MARIA JOSEPHA (LADY LISMORE), wife and cousin of preceding. She was a leading figure at the court of France of her time and, like her husband, played an active part in that country in the movements for the restoration of the Stuarts. On 19 January 1749 she was officially ordered to leave Paris within three days on account of her indiscreet criticism regarding the attitude of the cabinet at Versailles towards the cause of Prince Charles Edward. Her exile, however, was only temporary. She was an intimate friend of Colonel Richard Warren (*see* WARREN, RICHARD)—a considerable number of her letters appeared in the pages of his " Correspondance " published in 1930.

In the middle of the eighteenth century Lady Lismore was one of the chief participants in a long dispute which took place in France between two of the expatriated families of the O'Briens. Lord Clare represented the senior branch in that country and, on the death of the Earl of Thomond in Ireland, adopted his title. His claim to it was challenged by the Earl of Lismore representing the Carrigogunell house, after whose death in the early stages of the dispute Lady Lismore continued to defend the rights of their son. While the feud was proceeding Lord Clare too died, and his widow likewise espoused the cause of her own son who was

a minor. Agents were sent to Ireland by both sides to collect evidence. The outcome of a long dispute was that the young Lord Clare was, at a Council in Versailles in 1762, confirmed in the title of Earl of Thomond, which however became extinct with his death at Paris in 1774.

O'BRIEN, MURROUGH, soldier. Son of Eugene O'Brien of the house of Carrigogunell, in which place he was born *circa* 1650. In 1671 he went to France as a volunteer in the Irish regiment of Count George Hamilton (*see* HAMILTON, GEORGE) and took part in the German campaigns of that corps during the succeeding ten years. In 1691 he obtained a commission as captain in the regiment of O'Brien or Clare, and fought with it at Marsaglia in 1693 and at other battles of the war in Italy. By 1705 he had reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and in the following year was engaged with his regiment at Ramillies. At this battle, where Lord Clare was killed, Murrough O'Brien captured two English flags which he deposited in the house of the Irish Benedictine nuns at Ypres. After the death of his kinsman he succeeded him as colonel of the family regiment. At its head he fought at Oudenarde and Malplaquet and at various sieges in Flanders till the end of the War of the Spanish Succession. Holding the rank of major-general he remained colonel of the O'Brien regiment till his death in July 1720. A brave soldier, the name of Murrough O'Brien stands high in the military annals of France.

A kinsman and namesake—Murrough (Morgan) O'Brien—of the Ballynalackan branch of the Thomond family was also a distinguished officer of Clare's regiment and was in 1736 created a Knight of the Military Order of Saint Louis. He married Marie Louise de Thomak, by whom he had two sons, who became officers in their father's regiment.

O'BRIEN, TIMOTHY, ecclesiastic. Born in Co. Cork, he left Ireland as a boy in 1691 for his education. He studied at the Irish College in Toulouse and received his degree of Doctor of Divinity in the university of that city. In 1706 he was appointed superior of the Irish College there, a post which he held for ten years. After twenty-five years' residence in France, he returned to Ireland in 1715 and became parish priest of Castlelyons in his native county. He was author of several polemical works, including "An Answer to a Book entitled *The Truly Catholic and Old Religion*" (Antwerp 1716) and "Goliath beheaded with his own sword" (Antwerp 1717). He died at Castlelyons in 1747.

Several other ecclesiastics of the same name achieved some distinction in France during the eighteenth century. The abbé Bernard O'Brien, a native of Killaloe, was a canon of Bethune in the diocese of Arras and, as chaplain to the Duke of Artois, brother of Louis XVI, was a well-known figure at the French court before the Revolution. The question of holding clerical retreats at the Irish College in Paris during the Revolu-

tion led to a sharp difference of opinion between him and the superior, the abbé John Baptist Walsh (*see* WALSH, JOHN B.). The abbé O'Brien, who maintained that the retreats exposed the clergy (the majority of whom were French) attending them to too much risk, was accused of " trying to convey his own panicky fears to the students ". He was at this time (1791) nominated to the vacant see of Cashel, being recommended for it by the Duke of Artois and the Princess Royal of France, but his appointment was strongly and successfully opposed by the abbé Walsh.

O'BYRNE, JOHN, merchant. Son of John O'Byrne of Cabinteely, Co. Dublin, and Marie Anne Colclough of Wexford, he was born on 20 June 1725. With his two brothers, Gregory and Daniel, he settled at Bordeaux in 1750 and became proprietor of extensive vineyards at La Hourange and Macon. Admitted into the ranks of the French nobility in 1770, he was generally known as " The Chevalier O'Byrne of La Hourange ". The letters-patent of Louis XV conferring nobility contain some interesting family details. They state that the three brothers, " sons of John O'Byrne of Cabinteely (of noble Irish extraction) and of Lady Anne Colclough," prove " eleven degrees of filial descent with the title of Esquire " ; that " their uncle Barneval died lieutenant-colonel in Berwick's regiment, that M. Colclough, also their uncle, captain in the same regiment, died of wounds at the battle of Fontenoy, that Gregory O'Bryne, one of the brothers, has just left Berwick's regiment, in which they still have a nephew and four cousins with the rank of officers—in a word, that several others of their relations have served and serve in our land forces and navy . . . . "

Chevalier John O'Byrne married Mary, daughter of Richard Gernon of Gernonstown, Co. Louth, who was also engaged in commerce at Bordeaux. Among their children was Gregory who, like his uncle and namesake, was in the Irish Brigade. With some other officers of his corps he was one of the Guard of Honour who protected the Duchess of Angoulême, sister of Louis XVI, in her flight after she had appealed in person to the National Assembly. Chevalier O'Byrne had three sisters : Emily who married Andrew Kirwan of Galway, a newspaper editor in Bordeaux during the Revolution (*See* KIRWAN, ANDREW) ; Lucinda who married Benjamin Bloomfield of Dublin, a resident of Bordeaux whose descendants still live there, and a third sister who married Chevalier de Lachauvetière, colonel in the French army.

Belonging to another family of O'Byrnes settled in western France was Noel O'Byrne, an officer in the Catholic and royalist army of La Vendée in 1793. He particularly distinguished himself for bravery at the bloody siege of Noirmoutier in that year. The Vendean chief had captured that island with the intention of using it as a depot for his sick and wounded. He left it with a small, ill-armed garrison, of which O'Byrne

was an officer. At the end of December 1793 the island was surrounded on all sides by a strong Republican force, and fierce fighting went on for several days. It seemed so hopeless to continue the defence that some of the besieged officers favoured a surrender. Led by O'Byrne the remainder protested and declared that at the beginning of the siege they had sworn to defend it to the death. A compromise was however finally agreed on with the besiegers and a surrender took place. Vendean historians have ever since described O'Byrne as " the faithful Irishman ". Released two years later from prison, he agreed, though a royalist, to accompany the expedition of Hoche and Tone to Ireland. Belonging to the same family was Florence O'Byrne, wife of an Irishman living at Beauvoir, who during the Vendean war espoused the royalist cause and was guillotined on 15 January 1794 after trial at Les Sables. A woman of immense wealth she showed much bravery at her execution. Three of her sons were leaders of Vendean insurgent columns.

O'CARROLL, DANIEL, soldier. Chief representative in France of the family whose ancient patrimony was Ely–O'Carroll in the Irish midlands. After serving in the Jacobite War in Ireland, he entered the French service in which, as lieutenant-colonel of the King's Regiment of Dragoons, he fought for his adopted country against a powerful continental league till the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. In that year there was a general reform among the Irish troops in France, and in May 1698 he was appointed colonel of the newly-established Irish infantry regiment of Berwick. In 1701 the War of the Spanish Succession began, and he took part in all its chief battles and sieges in Italy till 1706. In July 1705, at the head of the grenadiers of his own and other corps, he stormed and captured the strong post of Genivolta. The Duke of Vendôme, his commander, in a message to Louis XIV described O'Carroll's action as " so brilliant that it deserves the grant of a distinguished reward from your Majesty." In the following month he again displayed much valour at Cassano, for which he was promoted to the rank of brigadier. From 1710 till his death in 1712 he was attached to the army of Dauphiné.

A member of the same family, Major-General O'Carroll, also left Ireland in 1691 and entered the French service. He was killed at the battle of Marsaglia in 1693. In that engagement, where the Irish troops headed the centre attack, charging home with fixed bayonets and clubbed muskets, their losses were heavy. Lord Clare was mortally and his brother Charles O'Brien (*see* CLARE) seriously wounded, while James de Lacy, father of Peter, the Russian Marshal, was killed.

Another kinsman, Major John O'Carroll of Clare's regiment, was mortally wounded at Ramillies in 1706. He died at Louvain and was interred in the Church of the Holy Cross.

O'Casey, Joseph Gregory, naval officer and Peer of France. Born on 8 October 1787 at Auribeau (Var). He came of an Irish family settled at Bordeaux, where in 1741 Henry O'Casey, a native of Limerick, established a soap factory. (The De La Ponce MSS. state that in 1809 " James Casey, native of Ireland, son of one of the leading merchants of Bordeaux, was appointed lieutenant in the 2nd Irish battalion of the Armée d'Espagne ").

At the age of nine Joseph Gregory O'Casey became a cabin boy in a government boat but, being reclaimed by his parents, was on his return home sent back to school. At the age of sixteen he joined the French navy and was soon afterwards appointed midshipman. In 1808 he took part as an ensign in the operations before Tarragona and Barcelona, and in 1813 particularly distinguished himself in the maritime expedition in the Mediterranean. After this he received rapid promotion. During the French war with Spain he was on board " La Junon " along the coasts of Catalonia and, five years later, was at the battle of Navarino and other engagements. In these various campaigns he showed much valour and coolness. In 1845 he had reached the rank of Vice-Admiral and became a member of the supreme council of the Admiralty. After the Revolution of February 1848 O'Casey, who had taken no part in political affairs, was elected deputy for Var. Later he became Minister of Marine, was created a senator and was decorated with the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. He died at Paris on 19 February 1862.

O'Coigly, James, *see* Coigly.

O'Connell, Daniel Charles (Count), soldier. Born at Darrynane, Co. Kerry, on 21 May 1745, he was the son of Daniel O'Connell and Mary O'Donoghue. In 1761 he entered the French army as a cadet in the infantry regiment of the Royal Suedois, and in that corps fought through the last two years of the Seven Years War. Subsequently he joined Clare's Irish regiment and, a few years later, became officer of an engineer corps. As such he distinguished himself at the French attack on Minorca in 1779 and at the siege of Gibraltar in 1782. At the latter place he was several times wounded and there, too, he saved the life of the Duke of Artois, the future king Charles X. For his services he was rewarded with the colonelcy of the regiment of Salm-Salm. Soon afterwards he was appointed inspector-general of infantry and requested to edit " L'Ordonnance pour l'Infanterie ". This work brought him into much prominence and earned for him the Cross of Saint Louis, while the title of Count was conferred on him in 1788.

After the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789 O'Connell, though a royalist, remained in Paris for two years (he did so, it is said, at the express order of Louis XVI) and became member of a commission appointed

to revise the army regulations. At this time too the Revolutionary government wished to place him at the head of one of the French armies which it was about to hurl against the European coalition. Though pressed by Carnot and Dumouriez to accept such a command, he refused it and, after the sack of the Tuileries Palace, he left France and joined the French princes and émigrés at Coblentz. With them he fought as a private in Berchini's Hussars against the troops of Revolutionary France. On the failure of the royalist campaign he went to London towards the end of 1792. There he was the chief author of a scheme, submitted to Pitt, for the formation of an English-Irish Brigade in the service of King George. Six regiments were to be raised, composed of the seceding officers and men of the old Irish Brigade. O'Connell himself was appointed colonel of one of these, but the scheme only very partially materialised, and within two years the Brigade ceased to exist. A few of its regiments were shipped to Nova Scotia and the West Indies, where men and officers soon perished from the deadly climate.

Taking advantage of the Treaty of Amiens in March 1802, which ended the war between France and England, O'Connell returned to France. Soon, however, hostilities were resumed, and all English subjects in that country were declared prisoners of war and were interned. With the return of the Bourbons he resumed his old rank of lieutenant-general in the French army. After the Revolution of 1830 he refused to take the oath of allegiance to king Louis Philippe. He was struck off the military list and retired into private life to his chateau at Madon near Blois.

While residing at London in 1796 O'Connell married Martha Gourand, Comtesse de Bellevue. There was no issue of the marriage. He died at Madon on 9 July, 1833, his title of Count descending to the son of his stepdaughter, Daniel Charles d'Etchegoven O'Connell.

RICHARD HAYES

BIRDS OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

BY P. G. KENNEDY, S.J.

PART VIII.—PHALAROPES, TURNSTONE AND KNOT*

Phalaropes are a very small class of small waders, consisting of only three species. Two of these species, the Grey and the Red-necked Phalaropes, occur in Ireland. The third species, known as Wilson's Phalarope, is found only in the New World, breeding in North America and migrating after the nesting season as far as Patagonia. Phalaropes differ from other waders in having partially webbed feet, the anterior toes, as in the Coot and Grebes, being provided with lobed lateral membranes. Hence sportsmen sometimes call them " Coot-footed Sandpipers." The female in each of the species is larger than the male and, in contrast to most birds, is more brightly coloured, while the male alone incubates and caters for the young. They are aquatic in habits, being mostly seen swimming, often miles out to sea. Though all waders can swim and many of them have from time to time been seen swimming, Phalaropes are the only small waders which habitually swim about on water.

THE GREY PHALAROPE.—The Grey Phalarope is an irregular passage migrant in autumn and early winter, occurring chiefly in October and usually in bad weather. It probably visits this country annually in small numbers, though it is not annually recorded. Periodically, when there are heavy southwest gales, it is more plentiful. Thus, in October 1891, it was dispersed through most of Ireland. 1944 promised to be such another " Phalarope year ". There were certainly many gales from the southwest, and early in October Phalaropes were reported from the Tuscar Rock Lighthouse, off the coast of Wexford. On October 7th I watched a Grey Phalarope at Dunlaoghaire, while on the 18th Colonel C. F. and Dr. G. Scroope saw another at the North Bull Sanctuary, Dollymount. But other occurrences have not been reported.

The Grey Phalarope in winter plumage, in which alone it is seen in this country, looks remarkably like a Sanderling, almost as light in colour, but somewhat longer in body and with a dark patch extending from the front of the eye over the cheeks to the slate-coloured nape. It is larger than the Red-necked Phalarope, having a shorter, broader bill and more uniformly blue-grey back, considerably paler on the wings. There is a well-defined white bar on the wings, seen clearly in flight. A grey bird

* All the birds described in this article belong to the class of waders. For the other members of this class see the articles in September and December issues.

in winter, it is red in summer, the warm chestnut of the underparts being then the most noticeable colour.

Like the Red-necked Phalarope, this species is confiding in its habits and apparently without fear of man. Professor Alfred Newton says: "The tameness of these birds tempts the observer to watch their ways by the hour, be the weather never so bad." Fortunately I had good weather when for more than an hour I watched the bird from the West Pier at Dunlaoghaire. There the conditions for watching were ideal: the bird swam along outside the pier, being never more than a few yards from the water's edge, while I was able to walk in comfort behind the protecting wall, looking over and every now and then resting my elbows on the top to steady my glasses. It was a sprightly and active bird, riding high and buoyantly on the waves, bobbing its head like a Waterhen with quick dabs from side to side to pick up food. Then every few minutes it would spin round on the surface as if on a pivot, only to resume its erratic course. This spinning round is a well-known trick of both our species—its object being, it is said, to stir up the bottom in shallow pools and, in deep water, to draw insects and crustaceans into the eddy formed by the movement. Here of course the water was quite deep, but whether the eddy brought food within reach or not I could not see. At any rate the Phalarope invariably picked up something after each sudden *volte-face*. The whole action produced the impression that, by some means or other, the bird could see what was behind its back. It continued to swim for some hundreds of yards until it reached the bend near the extreme end of the pier, where the strong current brought it to a standstill. After some time it gave up the struggle and flew back to shelter to the spot where I had first seen it, when it began to work in the opposite direction towards the land.

The Grey Phalarope breeds in Iceland locally, in Spitsbergen, Novaya Zemlya, across Siberia and in North America from Alaska to Greenland. It winters in the south Atlantic, off the coast of West Africa and the east coast of South America to Patagonia, and off the Pacific coast from south California to Chile.

THE RED-NECKED PHALAROPE.—Up to the year 1900 the only occurrence of the Red-necked Phalarope in Ireland which Ussher and Warren could with certainty record was one shot in November 1891 in Co. Armagh. Since that date, however, the bird has very decidedly been prominent in Irish bird news. In 1900 two or three pairs were noticed during the breeding season in a marsh in Co. Mayo. Two summers later breeding was definitely established. By 1905 the nesting colony had increased to about 50 pairs. When I first visited the locality there were approximately 40 pairs, 30 nests being found. The ground seemed eminently suitable for the nesting of waders. It was a level marsh between a lake and the

sea, with a shallow stream running through and with many shallow pools, bordered by rushes, scattered all around. Dunlins were nesting there in large numbers, and their incessant, rich purring trill produced an impression of peace and well-being, the only discordant note being an occasional scolding cry of a Redshank. The music ceased only when a pair of questing Ravens, croaking ominously, were passing overhead. There were Lapwing, Ringed Plover, Snipe and Waterhens, while Terns flitted by to their colony on the sandhills. But the birds I had come to see were the Red-necked Phalaropes. It is a thrilling experience to watch a rare bird for the first time, even when it is a solitary individual and in circumstances where it can be approached only by cautious stalking. But here Phalaropes were numerous all over the marsh, rising at one's feet from the coarse grass or swimming on the shallow pools, and so tame that they could be photographed at close range. No other birds are so satisfying to watch, perhaps none so beautiful, certainly none so graceful in behaviour. I have returned to the nesting ground many times since, but never again have I found the colony in such a flourishing state.

During a visit with Mr. P. E. Dunn in 1932 a considerable falling-off in numbers was noticed. We could count only 25 Phalaropes on the nesting marsh, though in another place a few miles away we found six pairs. Even the Dunlins were fewer and their music remarkably less in volume. When we sought a reason for the decrease, the watcher attributed it to the destruction of nests and eggs by cattle. And we could well believe it, as fifty head of cattle were at that time roaming at large over the ground, and we were shown a few nests with broken shells. In the early years of the colony the owner of the estate kept the stock away while the birds were nesting. But now the property had been taken over by the Irish Land Commission, and pending the division of the land the marsh was used as a commonage by the farmers who were to receive allotments. Though the damage done by cattle was evident enough, and predatory birds and animals may have contributed to some extent—we had found a dead stoat on the ground—I think that the chief cause was the robbery of the nests by collectors. For many years they were said to be taking a large toll of the eggs, and two English ornithologists were reported on one visit to have shot two birds and to have taken forty eggs. The strain of such wholesale pillage was bound to tell adversely on so young a colony. Meanwhile the members of the Irish Society for the Protection of Birds were gravely concerned about the fate of the Phalaropes. For many years they had a paid watcher to look after the birds. They now applied to the Land Commission to have the ground made a Bird Sanctuary. After a considerable amount of negotiation, during which the Commission showed itself not only sympathetic but generous, a satisfactory agreement was reached. The nesting ground, about 15 acres in extent, was made over to the Society and vested in three members of the Committee as

Trustees, with the proviso that the ground should be fenced in at the Society's expense and that at the end of the nesting season each year the gates of the enclosure should be thrown open to the cattle on the neighbouring allotments. Thus in 1937 the ground was declared a Bird Sanctuary.

But before the fencing could be completed, the annual numbers of the Phalaropes had fallen as low as six pairs. It was hoped, however, that since the danger to the nests from cattle was removed, the state of the colony would improve. In this the Society has been disappointed as the figures have remained static at five or six pairs annually. It is still thought in certain quarters that collectors continue to operate in spite of the vigilance of the watcher. The eggs are valuable, and professional collectors will take any and every means to secure these treasures for their own cabinets or for sale to others. Some well-known members of the nefarious fraternity have been denied entrance to the Sanctuary, and the local Gardai have kept strict watch while they were known to be in this country. But they are said to work through local agents, thereby creating a problem with which it is extremely difficult to deal. It must be added, however, that most of the residents in the immediate locality are proud of the birds and show great anxiety for their preservation ; many have in fact joined the Protection Society. At any rate the members of the Irish Society for the Protection of Birds have spared no pains to save this colony of beautiful waders. Though their funds are necessarily small, the annual subscription being only 2s. 6d., in addition to paying a watcher annually they have spent about £70 in providing a wire fence around the nesting ground. It is to be hoped that their efforts will be eventually crowned with the success which they deserve.

Since 1916 a few pairs of Red-necked Phalaropes have also nested, though irregularly, on a remote island off Donegal and on the mainland of the same county. The winter records continue to be rare, the only occurrence in the present century being in Wexford in November 1911.

The colours of the Red-necked Phalarope in summer form a very pleasing combination of slate-grey, chesnut red and white. The head, lower neck and most of the upper parts are leaden-grey, darkest on the back where there are buff edgings to some of the feathers ; the sides and front of the neck are a rich chestnut and the chin and under parts white. The long bill is black and the legs greenish. The female, more brightly coloured than the male, has a small white spot above the eye. In winter both sexes look rather white, the upper parts being greyish marked with white and buff.

The Red-necked Phalarope invariably captivates all who see it. I suppose this is due to a combination of reasons : its attractive form and colouring ; its engaging behaviour and confiding habits. Most birds are suspicious of man, perhaps not without reason ; but Phalaropes, like

Robins, are exceptions. I remember one visit with a few friends to the nesting ground, when the car which brought us was driven to the edge of the marsh. We had just got out when a Phalarope rose with a faint " pleep, pleep " from a tussock at our feet and flew a short distance. We stood still to watch it. Almost at once it began to work its way back through the grass and actually got into the nest and settled down to brood under the shadow of the waiting car. We did not disturb it again until we were leaving many hours later. On another occasion when I wanted to take a close-up photograph, my companion and the watcher rounded up five or six on a pool and drove them right in front of me. They swam past quite unconcernedly, with short, mincing strokes of their feet, bobbing their heads from side to side, picking up insects from the surface of the water and occasionally jumping into the air to catch a passing fly.

They are such fascinating birds that I fear people who have watched them are liable, like certain golfers and fishermen, to weary an audience which is neither interested nor sympathetic. Lord Grey of Falloden tells a story of a guest who, on several successive visits to country houses, had been bored by much talk about birds. Another visit was in prospect where it was thought possible the subject might be avoided. The chance of this was discussed hopefully with a friend on the day of departure for the visit. The next day, however, the friend received a telegram. It contained three words : " Red-necked Phalarope." (*The Charm of Birds*).

The birds arrive at the nesting-ground early in June and leave in August. The nests which I have seen were generally within easy reach of water, were well concealed in a tussock and were lined with grass. Four eggs are usually laid, the ground colour ranging from stone-buff to olive-buff, boldly blotched and spotted with dark sepia or chocolate. Only one brood is reared in the season. The female, being quite emancipated, is the dominant partner. She occupies territory, selects her mate, doing all the courting, and fights other females who challenge her claims. The male does the hatching and the feeding of the young—sometimes reluctantly, it is said. It is on record that one male who seemed to be in no hurry to take over his domestic duties was literally " henpecked " back to the nest by his mate.

The Red-necked Phalarope breeds in the Orkneys and Shetlands and the Outer Hebrides in limited numbers, in Iceland, the Faeroes, Norway, Sweden, Finland, the Baltic States, across Siberia and in North America from the Aleutian Islands to Greenland. After the nesting season it migrates through Europe to West Africa, in Asia to the Indian Ocean, the Malay Archipelago and the Moluccas, in the Pacific to Japan, China, the Philippines and other island groups, and through North to Central America. It is said to be never numerous on passage in Europe, but we read of enormous migrating flocks seen off the coast of North America. Herbert K. Job, who happened to be at Cape Sable, Nova Scotia, one August

writes: "The fishermen told me there were millions of 'sea-geese' out at sea; from their descriptions I knew that these latter were Phalaropes, and I took an early opportunity to pay them a visit." Having chartered a ship and put out to sea, he continues: "By the time that the white beaches and green spruce tracts were becoming dim in the distance, we were in the haunts of the Phalaropes. Flocks of them began to fly by, and then we passed flocks on the water, sometimes quietly dressing their beautifully smooth plumage or splashing and frollicking on the smooth ocean surface. Every bunch or patch of drifttweed supported all the Phalaropes it could hold. All round us they were flying and sporting, always in flocks of half a dozen or more. Each tiny bird, when at rest, rode lightly and gracefully upon the water, and I was reminded of squadrons of miniature ships riding at anchor in some harbour. At length I rowed from the vessel in the heavy tender right among the birds that would hardly get out of my way, so tame were they. I think I had not realized how many they were until I came to an almost solid mass of them that covered acres of water. It seemed that such a flock would certainly be shy. Not so; as I rowed towards them they hardly deigned to notice me, and when I was very close, instead of flying, they merely swam to one side, opening up a sort of lane through their ranks, through which I rowed, after which they simply closed up again. Being so near them I was able to learn accurately what species were represented in this host."* Nearly all proved to be Red-necked Phalaropes.

THE TURNSTONE.—The Turnstone strikes the observer as a rather prosaic, matter-of-fact bird, not likely to fire his imagination nor to excite his enthusiasm, as the Phalaropes invariably do. I have never yet heard any bird-enthusiast claim the Turnstone as his favourite species, nor can I imagine one doing so. But at the same time it is not easy to lay one's finger on the precise cause of this, for it is a confiding bird, resourceful in making a living and not aggressive as a rule, with a pleasing call-note and not without beauty of colour. Perhaps it is due to a certain homeliness of outline, a rather bulky appearance, lack of grace and sprightliness of movement and over-eagerness in feeding. However that may be, it takes all kinds of birds to make up the very attractive world of birds we have in the countryside, and the Turnstone fits into the picture—even if only in the background, as it were—for it is mainly a bird of the sea-shore. But during the spring and autumn passage it may be met with inland by lakes, reservoirs and rivers, and sometimes on refuse dumps at some distance from water. It is said to visit Lough Neagh in the month of May.

From August to May the Turnstone is common on all parts of the Irish coast, while in June and July small parties are often seen. As it does not nest in this country, the birds seen in summer are either immature

* *Among the Water Fowl.* By Herbert K. Job, p. 121.

or non-breeding adults. Though widely distributed it is seldom seen in big flocks, parties of two or three up to twenty or thirty being the most usual numbers. I can recall only one day when I saw them in hundreds. It was on the North Bull Island towards the end of August. The tide had turned a short while before leaving a swath of seaweed and debris along the whole shore. Turnstones were there in force, feeding eagerly, turning over the jetsam, tugging at the strands of sea-weed and pouncing on the crustaceans and sandhoppers that happened to be beneath. The name " Turnstone " seemed singularly inappropriate on this occasion, for it was weeds they were turning over. But stone-turning, though less observed than might be expected, is in other circumstances a regular method of uncovering food. More than once I found two birds levering with their bills the same clump of wrack and turning it over. Such co-operation is said to be unintentional, each bird aiming to secure food for itself. But the birds were so closely packed together in places that it would be difficult to avoid apparent collaboration. Usually very tame when feeding, on that day they were extraordinarily fearless and would only just move out of my way as I walked along the tide-line. They were probably tired and hungry after a long passage flight. On the following day, when I again visited the island, there were only a few Turnstones to be seen, the large numbers having gone on another stage of their autumn migration.

Turnstones while resting on tide-washed reefs and rocks are often very inconspicuous, especially when looked at from above, and even while feeding they would often escape notice altogether except for their incessant movement. The broken colour scheme of black and white, grey and brown, harmonizes wonderfully with the weedy surroundings. Yet at close range or when looked at through glasses they are distinctive enough, and when their short legs are visible their bright orange colour stands out clearly. But when they take wing, they are perhaps the easiest of the waders to identify, the boldly pied pattern of wings and back at once distinguishing them from all others.

In both sexes during winter the upper parts are dark blackish brown with pale brown margins, and the sides of the head are brown, while the under parts are white with black brown lower throat and breast. Immature birds are distinguished from adults in winter by having buff edgings to some of the feathers on back and wings. In summer the male has the head, neck, upper breast and shoulders variegated with black and white, and the mantle streaked with chestnut and black, while the female is duller in colour.

The Turnstone is said to be circumpolar in summer and cosmopolitan in winter. It breeds in the islands of the Baltic Sea and the Cattegat, on the west coast of Norway and from Greenland to Kamtschatka. It winters in the Atlantic Islands, the African coast to Cape Province, in the Indian Ocean and in Oceania and Australia.

THE KNOT.—The Knot, like the Turnstone, is a bird on the fringe of the countryside, being found mainly on the sea-shore and occasionally occurring inland in small numbers. Ussher and Warren state that it has been found inland in Ireland on several occasions, while Coward, writing some twenty years later for both Great Britain and Ireland, says that it occurs inland more frequently than is usually supposed, that occasionally in the autumn there are overland migrations and that single birds, probably weaklings that have fallen out of passing flocks, are met with on inland waters in winter as well as in autumn. It is a regular winter visitor and passage migrant to the north and east coasts, less frequently and in smaller numbers to the south and west. It arrives on our shores in August, appears in larger flocks in September and October and, in my experience of the Dublin coast, may be seen throughout the winter to the end of March. Smaller numbers are met with in April and May, while non-breeding birds may be found during the summer. On a few occasions in June I have seen small parties still in winter plumage on the North Bull Island, while in June, July and August 1929 a summer-plumaged bird was regularly observed in the same place, until it was lost sight of on the arrival of the usual migrant flocks.

The Knot was formerly thought to have been named from King Canute, either because it provided a favourite dish for the royal table or because, like the King in a well-known story, it is found at the edge of the tide. At any rate Linnaeus gave the bird the specific title of *Canutus*. But the more probable explanation is that the name " Knot " is derived from the note " Knut, knut " which the bird utters on rising, during flight and at rest.

The Knot is the largest of the small waders of the Dunlin type, of a stocky build, of grey and white plumage in winter and with rufous underparts in summer. In flight it shows an indistinct white wing-bar. Flocks of Knot are remarkable for their precision and speed in performing those flight evolutions which are so characteristic of many species of waders. The largest flock I have seen, and there must have been thousands of birds in it, was in the month of December some years ago off the North Bull. They were performing their manoeuvres between the island and Sutton and Howth. They carried out the formation known as " the waved carpet," when ripple after ripple ran from end to end of the moving host ; suddenly they changed into a dense globe which screened off the view of the Howth cliffs as they moved seawards. Then, as if at some word of command, all simultaneously turned back over the sound where they spread out again in a long, undulating line. When they passed near, the swish of wings was like the sound of a great wind. They continued these winter sports for a long time until, on what seemed a sudden impulse, they turned in over the salt marsh and, hovering for an instant and falling like rain on a bare patch of ground, they packed closely together and set up a musical twitter.

I have sometimes in the autumn found enormous packs of Knot resting on the beach at Dollymount, when they seemed reluctant to move. I have walked up to them and have driven them like farmyard fowl. Many stand on one leg, the other being tucked up and hidden in the body feathers, and when driven they hop along on one leg. Some also have their heads turned backward with their bills embedded in their shoulder feathers, and these move along with the others without turning their heads forward. On a few occasions in spring I have had the same experience on the North Bull, while at Baldoyle once towards the end of March Mr. P. E. Dunn and I had some difficulty in getting a pack of about two hundred to take wing. That the young birds are very tame when they arrive in August and September is well known ; but when flocks later in the season behave in such a trustful manner, it is probably because they are tired after one of their long-distance flights.

For long the nesting of the Knot was wrapped in mystery. In 1821, nests and eggs were said to have been found on the Melville Peninsula, but no eggs were known to have been brought back. In 1876, nestlings were discovered on Grinnell Land. It was not, however, until 1901 that the first eggs were obtained in the Taimyr Peninsula in Siberia, and then in 1902 and 1903 other eggs were taken farther east, in the New Siberian Islands. But in all probability the full extent of the breeding grounds of the species is not yet known.

Knots are said to cover the world, almost from pole to pole, in their vast migratory flights. After the nesting season in the Arctic tundra they travel south to the Black Sea and to the Mediterranean region, while some have been recorded from Persia, Baluchistan, Ceylon and Burma. The East Siberian birds apparently migrate to Australia and New Zealand, while those from Arctic America travel to Patagonia. Few Knots have been ringed and fewer still recovered. But there is one interesting record for us : a bird ringed in south-west Norway in September was recovered in Co. Wexford the following January.

P. G. KENNEDY

REVIEWS

Biography

THE LIFE OF MICHAEL DWYER. By Charles Dickson. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1944. 15s.

An "essay in historical topography" is the author's modest description of this book. As such, indeed, this notable work is unique, breaking new ground and setting a headline which, one hopes, will be copied with profit by future workers in an untilled field of our history. Dr. Dickson's book is however much more than his modest claim suggests. It is a valuable addition to the literature of 1798 and contains much original material drawn from various (English) governmental sources, not hitherto availed of by research workers. Dr. Dickson, with the critical detachment of the historian, carefully analyses the documents he presents from this source and assesses them at their true value. But in his book there is something more important than these. We have, alas! no native archives from which to draw material to counter the lies and calumnies of the State Papers of the foreigner which fill our repositories. We have only—preserved in the long, undying memory of our people—those oral traditions, stories and ballads and poems, told and sung by the fireside and handed down from generation to generation. And it is one of the striking features of this book that this native source has been availed of by the author with admirable discretion and always with sympathy.

As the title suggests, the dominant figure of the book is Michael Dwyer, the Wicklow guerilla captain of 1798. His character has been aspersed by perverse foreign writers of the period—the Musgraves *et hoc genus omne*—who have portrayed him as a robber, bandit and desperado. Out of Dr. Dickson's objective and balanced work emerges, however, the figure of a gallant soldier, resourceful, humane and chivalrous. A tactician and strategist, too, who in a regular army would have achieved distinction. When the Insurrection had collapsed and its leaders were killed or executed or exiled, Dwyer with a band of devoted followers, hoping against hope for aid from France, fought on against desperate odds. Through five years of privation, hardship and peril they defied and harried the English forces hurled against them in the fastnesses of Wicklow. Among their adventures and hair-breadth escapes, so vividly told in this book, one of the most thrilling is that of the engagement in 1799 at Derrynamuck, where Dwyer escaped through the self-sacrifice of the gallant McAllister and where the remainder of the little band on that occasion were captured and executed.

Some of its readers may possibly feel disappointed that this book is not shaped after the formal type of biography, and that it does not present a consecutive narrative. To the present writer, however, the arrangement of the material seems to convey a more live and complete portrait of its subject than would result from any conventional form of biography.

As has been mentioned, this book furnishes, as a result of patient historical investigation, many new and significant facts in connection with the Insurrection. One can, for example, deduce very definitely from these that it was characterised by few of the sectarian features which ascendancy writers stress; and, again, one realises that the United Irish organisation had made considerable progress in Wicklow before the outbreak. In an introductory chapter political conditions in Ireland during the years immediately previous to 1798 are sketched in a temperate and dispassionate survey. In it the attitude of the Catholic clergy towards the United Irish movement (except, the author says, that of "a few brave and devoted priests") is described as one of uncompromising antagonism. This view raises what seems a somewhat contentious and disputable question. Silence and disapproval are not synonymous. The present writer, while going through the letters

of the informer Leonard MacNally some years ago in the Irish State Paper Office, noted his frequent references to the activities of the Catholic clergy throughout the country at the time. With eyes and ears alert MacNally travelled much of the country in connection with his legal work and, in due course, furnished information to Dublin Castle. He reported that " priests were missionaries to a man among the common people and preach the deliverance of their country from English influence as a religious duty " ; that they were " the principal agitators in French politics, those expelled from France being the most active " ; that " the subordinate clergy are violent," etc. MacNally, it should be remembered too, was at the time high in the inner councils of the United Irish organisation. The question, however, is one on which more light is desirable.

Irish biographical literature has been enriched with this full and living book by Dr. Dickson, which has rescued many humble heroes from oblivion or obloquy. It has made hallowed ground of Wicklow, whose glens and mountains it has invested with a new glamour for many of us. Toilsome years of travel and research must have gone to its making, but its author has surely some recompense in the thought that, for one Irish county at least, he has helped to

" . . . . people the steep rocks and river banks,
Her natural sanctuaries, with a local soul
Of independence and stern liberty."

R. H.

Celtica

THE WESTERN ISLAND OR THE GREAT BLASKET. By Robin Flower. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1944. 7s. 6d. net.

Among the sparse and rapidly shrinking districts where Irish is still the native language of the people, the Great Blasket—or, to give it its local name, the ' Western Island,' *an t-Oileán Tíar*—has won a significance out of all proportion to its size and population. Not only has it given hospitality and Irish to many scholars, but it has produced no less than three native authors. And one of these, Tomás Ó Crihin, has the distinction of having written the only work in contemporary Irish that is worth reading for its own sake. In his autobiography, so admirably translated by Dr. Flower more than ten years ago,[1] Tomás has left us an unforgettable picture of a Gaelic community and a Gaelic pattern of life. That picture is now supplemented and rounded off in the present work. If Dr. Flower has not acquired citizenship of the island by prescription, he should undoubtedly be regarded as its first honorary citizen. Of all its visitors he is the most constant—he has been going there regularly since 1910—and certainly the most beloved. And readers of his book will agree that both the island and the vanishing civilization which it embodies are indeed fortunate in their interpreter. Incidentally they will also have no difficulty in understanding why the name of *Bláihín* has become a household word on the Great Blasket.

The unclouded sympathy that exists between the author and the islanders is movingly illustrated on every page. Take, for instance, his own contribution to the numerous conversations that are reproduced here with almost uncanny accuracy. In all of them the visitor and his friends are completely at their ease. He talks neither down to them nor over their heads. Nor does he make the mistake of seeking to identify his interests and opinions with theirs. On the contrary, he and they exchange accounts of vastly different experiences on terms of absolute equality. Whether he is telling the ' parliament ' of turf-cutters about the earlier inhabitants of the island or describing to Peig Sayers the alarming dream that had recently vexed his slumbers in London (fortunately she was able to dismiss it as a mere ' dream '

[1] See Studies, December 1934.

and no ' vision ' !), he never puts a foot astray. Such unstrained sympathy is a rare gift. It overflows into this book, a book which warms the heart and wins the reader's friendship from the very first page.

I know of no work that gives so faithful a picture of the *Gaeltacht* and its people. Those who are without Irish will find in it the testament of an ancient culture from which the ' otherness " of Ireland ultimately springs. And even those who have been surfeited by a leaden diet of ' compulsory Irish ' will, if they read this book, discover that the language, in its natural environment, is something vastly different from the dreary grind of their school-days. For that reason alone, Dr. Flower's work should be more effective propaganda for Irish than all the publications of *An Gúm* rolled into one. And it has another advantage that distinguishes it from the literary efforts of our neo-Gaelic enthusiasts : it is eminently readable. In Dr. Flower the poet and the scholar have been blended to a perfect harmony ; what he has given us is *Dichtung und Wahrheit* in the best sense of the phrase. Into his chapters on the history, folklore, and literary tradition of the island much solid learning has been packed, but Dr. Flower always wears his learning with a difference. To take one example out of many, the ordinary reader will be no less fascinated than the historian by his vivid reconstruction of the wreck of the Spanish galleon *Our Lady of the Rosary* in the Blasket Sound. But the same applies to every part of the book, and no praise can be too high for the artistic skill with which the author has discharged what was so evidently a labour of love.

Dr. Flower is deeply sensitive of the tragedy involved in the disappearance of an ancient language, even when it has sunk to be *magni nominis umbra*. But he has kept vigil by its deathbed long enough to have resigned himself to the inevitable. " The world," he writes, " has turned to another way of life, and no passion of regret can revive a dying memory. What on that Island has to-day been experience to me will to-morrow be history as remote as Troy and Nineveh and Ur of the Chaldees." He himself has had the good fortune to know intimately the last generation of real native speakers, men steeped in that traditional lore from which their descendants (even those of them who still speak a diluted brand of Irish) have turned away with contempt. All, or nearly all, of that goodly company are gone : the " King of the Blaskets," Seán O Duínnlé, and the Hamlet of this piece, Tomás Ó Crihin. We can only agree with their friend *Bláihin* that the world is the poorer for their passing and thank him for having provided them with a worthy epitaph.

D. A. B.

LECTURES ON EARLY WELSH POETRY. By Ifor Williams, Professor of Welsh, University College of North Wales, Bangor. Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. 1944. 2s.

THESE lectures are in part a work of " high vulgarisation "—that is, they are a brilliant and inadequate account of a lifetime of industrious scholarship. They are inadequate of necessity, for Dr. Williams's main contribution to our understanding of the oldest Welsh poetry is a vast accumulation of detailed lexicographical notes. Here these notes are only represented by lucid translations of ancient texts. Almost every line of the translations is a triumph of research. Dr. Williams has a permanent and very high place in the history of Welsh scholarship. He has done more than any other to make intelligible Welsh verse before the eleventh century and to establish its validity. Partly also these lectures are a glimpse at " work in progress ".

The book contains three lectures. The abundant translations will procure them all a welcome in Ireland and even in England. English historians, as Professor Stenton's recent " Anglo-Saxon England " shows, may have something to learn of their own history from them. The first lecture, however, is not too well arranged. It starts with an inquiry into what the old Welsh meant by poetry, a problem of

criticism and aesthetic. But it plunges into etymologies which don't help the inquiry, and the result is not clear. A quotation from Giraldus about the *awenyddion* of his time is not really pertinent. Giraldus had already treated of poetry and nowhere suggests that the frenzied *awenydd* had any contact with the well-disciplined bardic guild of his day. Then the lecturer describes some of the oldest extant Welsh verse, until the engrossing subject of the relations of Irish and Welsh literature is broached. There is a suggestion that in the Welsh story of *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy* the difference in physical stature between mediaeval men and the men of the heroic age may be a borrowing from the Irish " Colloquy of the Ancients ". The idea was, however, a commonplace of classical and mediaeval poets, and Vergil describes his ploughman astonished at uncovering the giant bones :—

" Grandiaque effosis mirabitur ossa sepulchris."

The second lecture launches us on Dr. Williams's study of the " sagas of Powys". This is the main theme of the book. The lecturer quotes extensively from his previous English lecture on the " Poems of Llywarch Hen " (London, 1932), but he makes also a welcome and significant correction both of that lecture and of the Welsh volume *Canu Llywarch Hen* (1935). Briefly the thesis is this : that heroic narrative in Welsh was originally a medley of prose and verse. Of this original type only a late sixteenth century copy of a story of Trystan and Esyllt has survived. What we have else are, first, prose tales with a very few *englynion* among them (and Dr. Williams does not ponder whether two of the five of these may not be interpolations) ; secondly, collections of *englynion* containing narrative material, difficult stuff, which according to the lecturer are all that remain of what were in the ninth century complete sagas in prose narrative with the dramatic and lyrical parts in englyn verse.

A thorough discussion of the theory would go beyond the measure of a review. Let us take Dr. Williams's first example of such a saga, the story of Gwên, the main detailed study both of these lectures and of the London 1932 lecture. In 1932 and in the full Welsh study of 1935 it was held that the verse remains fall into two parts : one a dramatic dialogue, the second an elegy or death song. Dr. Williams interpreted this in 1932-5 as a colloquy between Gwên ap Llywarch Hen and his Mother, with the father, Llywarch, breaking in at the close. On a conjectural emendation of one line :—

" am gyhud vy mam mab yt wyf,"

and on a doubtful interpretation of another line :—

" tri gwyd oric elwic awen,"

he built a story that the youth had long avoided wars and had fled from his home—parallel cases were cited in confirmation—and had now returned late to be chided for his cowardice by a harsh mother, to be taunted by his father, to fight and to die in a lost prose passage, and finally to be mourned by Llywarch in the death song of Gwên. This Irish lecture now abandons the harsh Mother and allows that the entire dialogue is between Llywarch Hen and his son Gwên. Actually there are other lines in the englynion which emphatically confirm the present reading, the only possible one. Moreover, the whole story of the cowardly youth is completely belied by the dialogue. Gwên, as his father knows, has been to wars with Urien and been given (like Roland) a horn of battle as a gift of distinction. He has a reputation for magnanimity in battle, even as Roland, and will not use his horn to call for help :—

" Ny lygraf vym mawred."

In short, the story is simply not what Dr. Williams takes it to be. But the important point is this, that once the dialogue is recognised as one between father and son, anticipating the battle at the ford and foreboding the death of the young Welsh Roland, then the death song put in Llywarch's mouth, which immediately follows, needs no prose transition at all to explain it. Any prose transition would destroy

the dramatic effect. A change of key or tune is all that's required, and the whole thing becomes a terse and tense unity. There is a story, a saga if you like, but it is all in verse. And precisely thus was it appreciated in the fifteenth century by Guto'r Glyn, a poet of Powys, who referred with admiration to it as an *awdl*, a poem :—

" Llywarch Hen a'i awdl Wên dlos."

If this interpretation be correct, does it follow that the whole of Dr. Williams's hypothesis of a Powys cycle of prose and verse sagas falls to the ground? I think not. Each group of the verse remains must be separately studied, and we are very far from any finality. Even should only part of the Professor's theory prove ultimately valid, yet a great sum of his discoveries and deductions is already assured truth and his work loses little of its sovereign value. Even to correct him on an occasional point we are obliged and delighted to be his disciples.

The final lecture treats of " work in progress " on Taliesin and gives a brief synopsis of Dr. Williams's monumental work on Aneirin. I make only two comments. First, that a tribute to the pioneer work of his predecessor, Sir John Morris-Jones, would have been graceful. The other is that I find one passage inexplicable. Here it is ; the author says that he thought it a good line of investigation for dating the historical poems of Taliesin to seek whether they showed less traces of " clerical or Christian influence " than other later poems attributed to him :—

> " This is what I found. In the twelve poems to Urien and his sixth century contemporaries *Duw*, " God," is mentioned twice ; the Lord, once ; Lord of Heaven, twice ; *bedydd*, " baptism " is used for Christendom ; and there is one doubtful reference to *Pasc*, Easter."

Alas, this is silly. Take Dr. Williams's own translation of the opening line of Taliesin's death-song of Owain, son of Urien :—

" The soul of Owain ab Urien,
May the Lord consider its need."

Is that not, as plain as a tombstone, " pray for the soul of Owain ab Urien "? And what else could one expect in Welsh in the century of Gildas and after him? From that century to the sixteenth all Welsh poetry is simply and utterly Catholic Christian, and there is Purgatory and there is Hell in the mind of every elegy-writer.

SAUNDERS LEWIS

ECONOMICS

UNEMPLOYMENT CAN BE CURED. By Lt.-Col. K. E. Edgeworth. Dublin : Eason. 1944. 10s. 6d.

COLONEL EDGEWORTH'S study appears when the public interest in unemployment has been revived by the issue of the White Paper and by the recent speeches and writings of Sir William Beveridge. Those who desire to study the many and tangled problems involved will find this survey to be an excellent introduction. It is directed chiefly towards the solution of long-term unemployment. This is divided by the writer into several types arising from fluctuation in demands for equipment, from the decline in the demand for the products of certain industries, from over-saving and (especially in the smaller countries) from foreign competition in the home market. It is clear that these types need quite different treatment and that to prescribe the same policy for each would make things worse rather than better. Not the least of the merits of this book is the manner in which these different causes are distinguished. If there is a contraction in the demand for the product of a given industry, a bolstering policy would only prolong the agony. The true remedy in such cases is to admit the decline and, by industrial retraining and transfer, to guide labour into industries with better prospects. In his observations on this matter Col. Edgeworth anticipates the views contained in the White Paper, which did not appear until some months after the book under review. It must be added, however, that

this solution is more easily described than applied. It is difficult to be certain that the decline is permanent; it is even more difficult to persuade the owners that their capital is lost or the workers that their acquired skill has become useless. In these matters Colonel Edgeworth seems much nearer earth than the White Paper.

In the case of unemployment arising from cyclical fluctuations Colonel Edgeworth recommends the avoidance of compulsory liquidation of stocks and greater co-operation by the banking system over the short term aided by suitable controls over the long term. He adds some comments upon the often-repeated palliative of public works which hit the point so exactly that they deserve to be quoted. As he says, the trouble about public works is that " the proposals attempt to serve two distinct and mutually exclusive purposes—the relief of unemployment and the production of something useful. When actual schemes are examined, it is inevitably found that the proposals which comply with both these requirements are few and far between." In an undeveloped economy it is possible that private enterprise has not yet exploited possible fields of expansion, but it is unlikely that this will happen in countries with any degree of maturity. More than that—" if any scheme of public works is to be regarded as acceptable, it must satisfy two main conditions: firstly, it must provide employment for the people who are unemployed; and secondly, it must be designed to provide something which the community really needs, for it serves no useful purpose to set the unemployed to work on the construction of anything in the nature of an Egyptian pyramid."

The relation of unemployment and under-saving is treated at some length. In this discussion, statistics of British and American experience are introduced with profit. Colonel Edgeworth adopts the view that a large part of unemployment is the result of over-saving, and accordingly he recommends that excessive private and business saving should be discouraged—presumably by taxation—and that (as the reviewer understands it) that labour transfers should be encouraged and that a control budget should be introduced to neutralise over-saving. It is probable that the estimates of national income, now so popular, will receive an increased importance.

Individual saving may be dealt with by taxation and death duties. It is suggested that business over-saving should be dealt with by a provision that " the boards of management of all large business enterprises should include representatives of workers and consumers, whose duty it would be to see that reduced costs are dealt with in conformity with these principles " (of passing on reduced costs by cutting prices). It is hard not to feel that this is a good deal easier said than done.

For smaller countries, the writer recommends moderate tariffs and low production costs. " The employers in such countries must be prepared to see that the technical management is efficient and that a monopolistic position is not used to secure excessive profits, and the workers must be prepared to accept such wages as are justified by the technical efficiency of the country as a whole." But, as the author recognizes, a great deal will depend on the co-operation of more powerful neighbours; and one can only hope that this goodwill will be forthcoming both on and off the mainland of Europe.

In short, this book is a very broad and straightforward study of a problem that will soon be with us again. Is to be heartily recommended. J. F. M.

RICH MAN POOR MAN. By John Hilton. London: Allen & Unwin. 1944. 7s. 6d.

The Sir Halley Stewart lectures printed in this volume were delivered by the late Professor John Hilton in 1938. Their subject matter is the distribution of private property in Britain, with special attention given to the questions why so many people have so very little of it and whether they ought not to have more. The facts about capital distribution are not easily come by. Probate officers are interested

only in estates worth £100 and upwards—and in estates of individuals, not of families. Besides, death being very selective, various corrections have to be made before wealth distribution among the living can be deduced from data about what is left by those who die. The Manchester statisticians Daniels and Campion had been over this ground already. Of the immense range of small holdings that never figure in probate returns far less is known. " From no source whatsoever," Professor Hilton laments, " can you get trustworthy information as to how the house-property of Great Britain is held and as to how far the titular ownership must be discounted by reason of mortgages " : that is only one difficulty. The Unemployment Assistance Board does get details of the capital resources of persons applying to be put on its books, and recipients of Public Assistance can be presumed—where not actually insolvent—to own next to nothing. But to push inquiry farther and bring in the working classes, as Professor Hilton does, means falling back to some extent on intelligent guess-work, with a rather wide margin of error.

Total private property in Britain in 1936 was estimated by Campion at £20,000 millions. As much as 55 per cent. of this aggregate (the same proportion, almost exactly, as in 1914) belongs to the small group of persons with more than £10,000. The salaried lower-middle classes have increased their relative numbers and relative share of privately owned capital, but beyond that the shape of the wealth pyramid has changed very little. Professor Hilton judges that out of 12 million families 8 million have less than £100 to their name. The volume of the much-publicised " Small Savings " is no refutation of this, he says, since it is common knowledge that the bulk of such savings is held firmly by well-off persons. If the masses remain virtually propertyless, there must be some forces at work keeping them so—is it improvidence chiefly or Pools, or the Demon Drink? A sample of 300 households visited by members of the Charity Organisation Society contains a majority of cases where sickness or unemployment dealt the first blow. Low-wage workers have no cushion of savings to soften the impact of disasters like this. They sink into debt and very often they are still in debt when they die. Up-grading of at least the lower wage-rates—those paid to unorganized and ill-organized workers—would be an essential part of any programme for increased mass savings.

The definition and measurement of capital are beset with difficulties that Professor Hilton does not try to deal with, and experts may find the statistical foundation of his book rickety. In addition, war activity, with wage-rates risen by about 40 per cent. and earnings by 80 per cent. over their peacetime level, has considerably improved the capital position of the worker since the time when the lectures were delivered : small savings belong, much more than in the thirties, to small men. But statistics are not necessary to prove the existence of the poor and cannot put it in doubt, and this really was all Professor Hilton wanted for his purpose. He was primarily a specialist in the human problems involved, and for this he had all the requisite qualifications. One of his guiding principles was that, " to know the facts, you must go to the house ". The strong comments in this book on hire-purchase practice (which, however, reflect conditions as they prevailed before the passing of the British Hire Purchase Act of 1938) and on the psychology of pools and greyhound-racing derive plainly from experience gained by direct contact with working-class families. P. J. B.

THE U.S.S.R. An Economic and Social Survey. By S. P. Turin. London : Methuen. 1944. 16s.

WHAT ARE COLLECTIVE FARMS? By V. A. Karpinski. London : Lindsay Drummond. 1944. 2s.

DR. TURIN'S survey of Russia is the latest addition to Methuen's well-known series of advanced geographies. It appears at a most suitable time, and should

be purchased by those who wish to know more of the economic structure of so formidable a Power. The author presents us with a detailed account of the growth of social services, industries and agriculture, education and communications since 1917. He states that he " has deliberately not utilized or quoted any publications written in languages other than Russian, or any publications on Russia published outside Russia, considering them as secondary and not primary sources." It will be rightly inferred that comment follows the Party line. In a table of occupational statistics we read : " In this group are included middlemen, clergy, criminals, etc." It is to be presumed that this engaging classification will be deleted now that the Orthodox Church has been restored to favour. Generally, however, asides are confined to unflattering references to the old regime and to criminal invaders.

It must be confessed that the book does not make easy reading, but this should not be allowed to outweigh its obvious excellence as a work of reference. The first thing in it that will impress the reader is the enormous fecundity of the Russian population. The growth goes on at a level of something less than two million a year, while the rate of reproduction is among the highest, if not the highest, in Europe. It is also clear that Russia is far from the stage of economic development where a slackening of growth is to be expected. Much of this, however, is to be found in the recent survey of European population published by the League of Nations, and we must pass on. Practically two-thirds of this great population lives in the country-side and 75% of the occupied population is engaged in agriculture. These figures are significant, seeing that the invariable rule of maturing economies is to show a trend from agriculture to industry and thence to tertiary services. It is clear that the Russian economy, in spite of Magnitorsk and Sverdlovsk, is yet in an early stage of development. The problems of maturity will be complicated beyond imagination.

This impression of a yet undeveloped economy is strengthened when one examines the nature of Russian agriculture. Even yet it is governed by production for consumption not for exchange. About 70% of all foodstuffs are consumed by the local population. In the author's opinion, Russian agriculture " has not reached, owing to prolonged internal and external difficulties, a stage of self-sufficiency and plenty . . . . " It is interesting to note this statement : " The Soviet Government has admitted that the policy of forced collectivization was mistaken. It was found that coercion to join collective farms had diminished the sowing area, reduced the yield, and destroyed livestock to an alarming extent, and that in certain crops pre-revolutionary figures had not been reached."

The description of industrial expansion would need almost an article in itself. Dr. Turin is especially interesting in a chapter on " Trends in Economic Development." One notes that even in the classical home of Plans, there is some wasted effort. " We carry coal all the way to Vladivostock, but half of it is consumed on the way by the engines that carry it, yet there are very good mines near Vladivostock which produce perfect coal . . . . " or again : " There are occasions when we fail to produce the kind of article we require . . . . we produce thick glass when it is thin glass that we need." It is curiously like what enemies of planning say will happen. All this discussion on Russian industry is objective and valuable to the foreigner.

There is much more that should be mentioned, and the book is rich in revealing statistics. One statement gives the number of university students as 17,000, which appears to be extraordinarily small. Friends of education and lovers of traditional Russia need not, however, despair. " According to Gosplan there were in the U.S.S.R. 9½ millions of intellectuals in 1937."

The second book, on collective farms, is a propagandist pamphlet. It is attractively illustrated, but does not appear to go deeply into the practical problems involved.

J. F. M.

POLITICS

GERMANY, RUSSIA, AND THE FUTURE. By J. T. MacCurdy. Cambridge: University Press. "Current Problems" series, No. 23. 1944. 3s. 6d. net.

GERMANY AND EUROPE. Political Tendencies from Frederick the Great to Hitler. By F. Darmstaedter. London: Methuen. 1945. 12s. 6d. net.

THE first of these two books is the smaller and better-written. Its author is lecturer in Psychopathology at Cambridge, and it has its peculiar interest as a rather favourable example of the current tendency for professional psychologists to apply their technique to the study of history and politics. Fortunately Dr. MacCurdy does not at any rate seem to belong to the cheaper Freudian school which explains everything in terms of elementary "complexes" and "repressions". He is not, however, entirely exempt from the danger of appearing to speak with some mysterious authority, conferred by his special science, on subjects on which he has really no greater competence to lay down the law than any well-instructed student of the periodical press. If this caution be borne in mind, his little book will be found quite enjoyable to read. Its construction is a little uneven, both quantitatively and qualitatively. There is only one chapter about Germany to four about Russia; and while the author succeeds in being mildly hair-raising in the former, he is rather a little too optimistic in the latter.

This unevenness is indeed only a symptom of the fact to which we have drawn attention above, that his status as a psychologist confers on his views no particular weight. He ends his chapter on Germany with a well-written forecast of that country's coming exhaustion on a far greater scale than in 1918—a self-induced disintegration in which "the problem will be not the prevention of German military resurgence, but rather the reorganisation of a Central Europe from which Germany has disappeared. An area in the middle of Europe peopled by isolated peasants and roaming bands of brigands would become an export centre for pestilence, both actual and moral, endangering not merely the continent but the whole world." We have become fairly used to hearing of horrors, real and (possibly) fictitious, but this overtops them all. Its eventuation is not entirely beyond the bounds of fancy; but one may be permitted to hold that the author's comparative complacence in other directions robs it of some at least of its terror. He belongs to a distinguished school of British observers who take a calm and level view of Russia and her policies, and who believe that in that quarter, on balance, all is for the best.

There is an instructive difference in this respect between British observers and their American counterparts. The latter tend, while being by no means excessively pessimistic and while showing signs of wearing their own particular brand of less rose-coloured spectacles, to take on the whole a more sombre view. Dr. MacCurdy's forecasts are based largely on considerations drawn partly from a good knowledge of recent Russian history and partly from Russian psychology. The latter sort of consideration has long been a favourite with English reporters, and one can understand their sympathy for the Russian character. Two points, however, do occur to mitigate their comforting conclusions. One is that psychology is a very long-range operator under a dictatorship of the Russian type. The other is that they are consistently inclined to treat the *doctrinal* element in the Russian complex as having no reality. Yet no student of Marxian theory can readily admit that it does not still play an enormous, if not indeed a preponderant part, or that its influence is in any way lessened by the dissolution of the Comintern. After all, the Founder himself dissolved the Comintern not once, but twice. A good deal of Dr. MacCurdy's book thus amounts to an invitation to study the play without paying any attention to the motive of all its hero's acts. To say this is not at all to deny its interest; almost every section contains some stimulating and thought-provoking remark.

The second book is of a very different kind. It is the work of a German professor in exile, and its purpose is to keep the student of the German problem, both now and in the future, in touch with its historical antecedents. Unfortunately it is neither very brightly written nor long enough adequately to achieve this purpose. Many of its pages are little more than mere catalogues of great names with very brief accounts of the views put forward by their bearers. There are inevitable gaps, and in particular the author hardly does justice to the later developments of neo-humanism in 19th century and even post-Weimar Germany. It is striking that in his chapter on German historians, for example, he mentions Niebuhr and even finds room for the fantastic speculations of Creuzer, but has no word for Mommsen or E. Meyer. Another defect is that his summaries and conclusions alike are apt to be woolly, and sometime leave the reader's mind not a little baffled. A rather more detailed work with fewer references would have done more successfully what Dr. Darmstaedter sets out to do.

Nevertheless his book is instructive if carefully read. Beginning, as is proper, with Frederick the Great and coming down to the present, Dr. Darmstaedter shows how certain forces, partly inherited from the distant past and partly set going by the Prussian conqueror, have operated to give Germany its very special and in many ways paradoxical character. Frederick was at once autocrat and " servant of the people," and this dual aspect has always been the mark of the modern German state. Side by side with it have gone tendencies springing from the military successes of Prussia which have produced in turn Clausewitz's famous definition of war and the subordination of policy to cut-and-dried military plans. One of the best passages in the book describes the fatal consequences of the Schlieffen Plan not only on the strategy but on the diplomatic preliminaries of the war of 1914. There is a pathetic description of Kant's attempt to give a purely notional " representative " basis to the Prussian monarchy. A long and thorough section is devoted to Bismarck's policy, which merely strengthened existing tendencies; and there are good chapters on the development of socialism and on the Kulturkampf. In a concluding " retrospect and forecast " the author stresses the deep disunity which, he insists, is still very far-reaching among the *Stämme* and social classes as well as the religious communities of the Reich, and argues that Germany can only find peace when absorbed into a genuine European Federation. M. T.

EVERYBODY'S POLITICAL WHAT'S WHAT. By Bernard Shaw. London: Constable. 1944. 10s. net.

In this book Bernard Shaw works out once more the code and conduct which should obtain in a world born of itself and subject to the continued play of its own mindless but omnipotent and evolutionary efforts. That he can work so gallantly and hopefully in such a world is tribute to his heart rather than his head. It is one of the mysteries of modern literature that so keen a critic, so wholesome a satirist of the minor foibles and shams of his time, should be so zealous a champion of its major fallacy. He throws down the gauntlet in his own inimitable way:

" Granted that St. Bernard and St. Thomas were as resolute egoists as I, having equally disregarded the interests and wishes of our families in our determination to go our own ways, and choosing always the course of life most congenial to us at all costs to ourselves and others, why did they go so far as to kill themselves at half my age by overwork and privation? It was not because they believed themselves to be the servants and instruments of God; for I believe myself to be the servant and instrument of creative evolution, which comes to the same thing, and entitles me to rank equally with them as a religious person; that is to say, a person to whom eating, drinking, and reproduction are irksome necessities in comparison with the

urge to wider and deeper knowledge, better understanding and greater power over ourselves and our circumstances. So far, there is no reason why I, too, should not be canonised some day. Perhaps I shall."

Thus on one gay, irresponsible, intensely autobiographical, hopefully-prophetic paragraph, Shaw gives the gist of his outlook on life. It is an outlook which permeates this book on the evils of the world of 1944 and how to cure them. He claims for his prescriptions the special advantage that they may be worthless : " The advantage of my version of the situation from the political point of view is that there is no danger of my imagining that, because I regard myself as an instrument of creative evolution, I must therefore be right in my way of doing its work. As it works by trial and error so must I. The advice I am giving in this book is the best I can offer at my age, but it may be a mischievous mistake. Certainly I had rather be writing a play instead."

Advice offered in such a spirit is beyond criticism. It is offered, with unfailing wit, on every conceivable subject, political and otherwise. Shaw ranges from *The Land* to *The Party System*, from *The State and the Children* to the *Illusions of the Money Market*, from *The Aesthetic Man* to *The Man of Science*, and from *Democracy* to *Government by Great Men so-called*. Throughout he maintains his running commentary with a pen so fluid, a range of illustration so rich, and a personal note so light-hearted and hopeful that it is impossible to believe that he was disillusioned in 1900 and began again with *Man and Superman* in 1901, that he was beaten again in 1914 and began afresh with *Common Sense about the War* a few months afterwards. Struck down again in 1939, he faces the situation in his first chapter with the question : " Is human nature incurably depraved ? " " The case against us," he thinks, " seems strongly fortified by the fact that just now the nations are engaged in a horrible reciprocity of slaughter and destruction." He dismisses the case in a few pages and sets out cheerfully in the next thirty-eight chapters to analyse the present economic, political, scientific, educational and religious situation and to suggest patterns for a new world—or, as he says himself, " to fence off as many of the pitfalls and sign-post as many of the right roads as we can." Note that " we ". It is a multiple Shaw that is in operation throughout : the one offering to signpost the right roads on page 7 is not the same as the one warning the reader on page 328 that the signposts may be all wrong. But through all there is the irrepressible, unaging, indomitable Bernard providing a Primer—a Manual—a Compendium—a Guide—to all men without regard to race, colour or condition as to how they should work together for the common good—or rather for the benefit of all who hold that the world is self-producing and self-sufficient. For according to the signposts it would appear that all others—including Jews, Roman Catholics, Christian Protestants and Mahommedans—would eventually have to be liquidated. Bernard on page 62 urges that this will not be necessary ; but George, on page 282, foreshadows the extermination of all but orthodox Evolutionists.

It is a stimulating book. Those at present working through the *Report of the Commission on Vocational Organisation* are advised to procure, at once, a copy of *Everybody's Political What's What* and to read the volumes in parallel. They are a great contrast, but have much in common. They are both most earnestly concerned with the provision of a better economic order, and their recommendations march together much more frequently than might be expected.

J. P. H.

SOCIOLOGY

THE PLAN OF SOCIETY. By Peter McKevitt. Dublin : Catholic Truth Society. 1944. 8s. 6d.

THIS book attempts, within a very brief compass, to give an account of the problems

which are somewhat vaguely comprised under the title of Sociology. In his " Foreword " the author points out that the book " assumes the assistance of a teacher who will expand the points that are dealt with too briefly." This disarms criticism. Social studies, touching as they do on the one hand sciences like economics, anthropology and statistics and on the other passing over into ethics, politics and philosophy, almost necessitate a leisurely treatment. Yet, although the book suffers somewhat from compression and assumes at times a slightly dogmatic tone, the author, by a judicious sense of selection, does, I think, deal adequately with the problems which at the moment are of most interest to the average reader—the unemployment problem, " racism," communism, corporative organisation.

Dr. McKevitt has added, as a postscript, an analysis of the very able and informative *Report of the Commission on Vocational Organisation*—bringing in this way, as he does generally throughout the book, his general theory into touch with Irish conditions. This analysis is explanatory rather than critical, and he takes no account of the difficulties which the application of the corporative system is likely to encounter. It is a great source of strength in any complex social system when it can be said of it that like Topsy, it " growed ". Where an intricate system has to be initiated as a totality the chances of its success are notably diminished. The Portuguese analogy is, I fancy, defective. Apart from the fact that many observers regard the Corporative system in Portugal as a mere façade, it is in any case linked to an admitted autocracy. The problem in a democracy is entirely different. The control of autocracies—even of enlightened autocracies—is all-pervasive ; and the corporative system, even when it is not based on the Fascist model, is a help rather than a hindrance to the central political power. The real problem in a democracy lies in the relation of the corporative system to the political power. Political rulers in a democracy are naturally sensitive to public criticism. A central body independent of them and, as is probable, sometimes critical of their activities would be an obvious danger. Hence any party in power may either do what is easiest to do, nothing, or may try to get control of the various corporative bodies, as it tries to get control of the bodies that administer local government. It would have been of great interest to get from the author a detailed consideration of this and many similar difficulties. The failure of the system of local government in Ireland is probably, from the standpoint of theoretical politics, the most disturbing feature of our present regime.

Where the author touches upon philosophical problems, as e.g. in his treatment of idealist philosophy, the ill effects of compression are most keenly felt. Considering that Kant introduced into the second edition of the *Critique of Pure Reason* a special section on the *Refutation of Idealism*, it certainly betokens high courage to deal with his system in a single page. A passing reference to Rousseau conveys, I think, a quite erroneous impression of his political theory. D. O'K.

THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY. By Paul Hanly Furfey. Milwaukee : Bruce Publishing Company. 1944. $2.

For Catholic thought, Dr. Furfey urges, there is no merely natural explanation of social evils. The root of the matter is supernatural. Hence the title of his book ; for, as St. Paul says in his second epistle to the Thessalonians, " the mystery of iniquity is already at work ". Still we cannot exclude the working of natural factors also. Man's nature and the conditions of his existence are such that " society would always be troubled with problems quite apart from all diabolical intervention '.' These natural factors can be studied by scientific methods and by the light of natural reason. The Catholic will of course realize that such study is not final ; that natural remedies, however excellent, are still inadequate ; that philosophy is not a substitute

for theology and that the Catholic way of life transcends all natural categories, being a participation through grace in the life of Christ Himself. All this seems simple enough. But Dr. Furfey thinks that he discovers among American Catholics—his book seems to have an exclusively American orientation—a tendency towards what he calls " conformism," " the tendency to compromise by adapting oneself to the position of unbelievers as far as it is possible to do so without positively denying any dogma of faith." (p. 149).

This is a very serious accusation. Dr. Furfey finds this " conformism " in two chief directions—first among American Catholic writers on Sociology and then amongst American Catholics generally in their attitude towards social problems.

Dr. Furfey seems to hold that all or most or some—he is somewhat vague about it—American Catholic writers on social problems are, for a variety of motives, " conformist " in the sense defined. His book, however, furnishes no definite evidence of this since he gives no references to any such writer or writers. His general argument is entirely unconvincing, for it would be possible to argue *a pari* that all Catholic philosophical writers who have discussed problems by the light of reason apart from revelation are similarly " conformist ". The answers which philosophy can give to many problems, as *e.g.*, the problem of evil, are inadequate, unsatisfactory and even shallow ; but it is the tradition of the Catholic schools that these problems should be discussed, and independently discussed, first on the philosophical level. Of course Dr. Furfey can quite legitimately argue that he has discovered a better method of discussing social problems than that commonly employed by his American colleagues, but I doubt if he is entitled to accuse these excellent ecclesiastics and laymen of the somewhat odious cowardice of " conformism ".

Nor do I think that he produces sufficient evidence to show that American Catholics generally are more " conformist " than other people. His criticism would be more effective if it were less rhetorical and if he did not show a tendency to set his standards too high for the ordinary man. He is at no pains to temper the wind to the shorn lamb.

" We meet in a first-class hotel and discuss the problems of poverty. The silver is well-polished, the linen is snowy, the cuisine is excellent. Then we settle back in our chairs and listen to the annual report. Trained, professional social workers. A well-balanced budget. The latest modern techniques. Fine phrases. And at the same hour little hungry children steal through dark alleys, searching for food in the garbage-cans and curse us as hypocrites under their breath . . . . There is excellent advice in the Gospel of St. Matthew, chapter nineteen, verse twenty-one : ' If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come, follow Me '." (p. 66).

This kind of criticism is, I fear, very unhelpful. Whether banqueting of the kind suggested is overdone in America it would be difficult to say. Meetings of charitable organizations are probably innocent enough. To spend on one's personal comfort funds intended for charitable purposes would, no doubt, be a grave wrong. But there is no suggestion of that here. Banquets, with their inevitable eleemosynary eloquence, far from being an allurement, are to many a positive deterrent.. And if one does attend and comes down with hard-earned cash, one might hope that it would be imputed for righteousness. If it is not perhaps the best way to promote charity, there seems no valid reason to believe that it is a bad way. One must also remember that the best can become the enemy of the good and that it is vital to avoid the carping attitude of the puritan.

It would not be possible in a brief review to submit all of Dr. Furfey's criticisms to a careful analysis, although I think that most of them need it. They have an obvious plausibility, but they lack balance and proportion and the correct emphasis.

If his objections are valid, there is much reason for pessimism; for he draws up a tremendous indictment against American Catholics of all classes. The Catholic priest of the present day (in America) resembles the priest who passed the wretched man on the road to Jericho. He is doing the same thing when he passes through the miserable slums. He is afraid to offend the wealthy by " raising his voice ". (p. 94). American Catholic colleges with their " well-kept lawns, imposing façades, polished columns, marble floors, beautifully appointed rooms," huge debts and underpaid manual workers are engaged in making " concessions to the bourgeois spirit " instead of teaching integral Christianity. (p. 96). The obligation to give superfluous income in charity is " undermined " and " misinterpreted " by the principle that a man should live in accordance with his state of life. (p. 100). In the unchristian treatment of negroes one can see the poison of " racism ". Exaggerated nationalism is rampant, especially in time of war, and many Catholics seem to adopt the principle " my country right or wrong ". Comparing statements issued by the German and the American bishops, Dr. Furfey comments: " The ordinary simple Catholic is apt to be a bit bewildered at these apparently contradictory statements. Can it be that in time of war the official declaration of a national hierarchy can reflect a nationalistic attitude rather than the attitude of the Church? " (p. 162).

These are a few typical instances of Dr. Furfey's criticisms. And what is his conclusion? " When Catholics are not punished by society for being Catholics, there is something wrong with them." There are too many of " the fearful and timorous " in our ranks, whereas what is needed is men " avid of martyrdom ".

Now what is to be thought of all this? None of these criticisms is new, but it is certainly odd that they should be accepted at their face value. This kind of writing may be picturesque, but it is certainly superficial. Exaggeration takes the fine edge off criticism. In the present case this is a pity because Dr. Furfey is certainly full of courage and has a case to make, although I think he fails to make it. Admittedly Catholics are often much too complacent about just criticism. And no one with even a minimum of spiritual insight will feel that he is doing as much as he might do. We are unprofitable servants. We are so self-absorbed, so exigent, so ready to believe that schemes that suit our own comfort are identical with the designs of Providence. But criticism, particularly of our neighbours and of the multitude of men, must allow for the weaknesses of human nature and carefully weigh what can be said in extenuation of our sinfulness and error. I fear that Dr. Furfey binds too heavy burdens for the plain man. It is a melancholy thought that heroes and saints in any walk of life are so rare. But then again it is difficult to avoid the conviction that anyone who considers an " avid desire " for martyrdom to be a common obligation should lack the opportunity of commending it to others.

D. O'K.

Philosophy

PHILOSOPHY FOR THE LAYMAN. By Fr. Aegidius Doolan, O.P., S.T.M. Dublin: Irish Rosary Office. 1944. 7s. 6d.

This book provides a popular treatment of some of the main principles of Philosophy. Philosophy has many departments: Metaphysics (including Ontology, Natural Theology, Epistemology and Aesthetics), Cosmology, Psychology, Ethics and Politics—to all of which Formal Logic is a propaedeutic. This rôle of Logic in relation to Philosophy rests on the fact that only through Logic is it possible to acquire that preparatory training in accurate thought which is essential to any serious philosophical speculation. " And the attempts," says Aristotle, " of some of those who discuss the terms on which truth should be accepted, are due to a want of training in Logic; for they should know these things already when they come to a special study, and not be inquiring into them while they are listening to lectures

on it." (*Met.* 4, 3). Only through Logic, then, can one know either the exact meaning of terms which are part of the stock in trade of Philosophy—such as concept, judgment, definition, deduction, induction (to mention only a few)—or the rules of definition and division, or the canons of reasoning. As Fr. Doolan says, all philosophy is concerned with " the seeing and making of distinctions ". (p. 7). But distinction implies definition ; and since the terms of Philosophy—such as substance, matter, motion, time, cause, etc.—while being exceedingly difficult in themselves, are understood in only the vaguest and most superficial way at the infra-philosophical level of thought, the need for their accurate definition or description in Philosophy is all the greater. Moreover, since Philosophy is not something " given and taken," like catechetical instruction, but a most difficult science, where each conclusion has, by the personal reflection of every individual who studies it, to be related to fundamental principles, it follows that a knowledge of the rules of valid reasoning is likewise necessary in order that error may be avoided.

Since, however, Logic is not part of Philosophy proper, Fr. Doolan does not include an outline of Logic in this book. After some preliminary chapters on the general nature of Philosophy and the principles of Cosmology, he confines his treatment for the most part to Psychology and Ethics. In an introductory work of this kind this is a wise limitation. Ethics is in ways (not in *every* way) both the easiest and the most important part of Philosophy. It is the easiest, inasmuch as its principles such as the Final End, the distinction of moral good and evil, the conceptions of law, right, duty and conscience may be fairly well expressed in non-technical language and so, to some extent at least, brought within the grasp of any average intellect: it is also the most important *practically*, since, as the science of moral good and evil, it establishes the principles and norms of the good moral life, which is our greatest personal and social necessity.

With Psychology the case is rather different. This is apparent in Fr. Doolan's treatment of such problems as the relation of the soul and its faculties (where, in the author's words, " it is necessary to plunge to the very depths of thought to find the anchorage of this vital truth "—p. 78), the distinction of the passive and active intellects (W. D. Ross describes the doctrine of the active intellect as " perhaps the most obscure and certainly the most discussed of all Aristotle's doctrines "—p. 103), and the freedom of the will. In such questions not only is the vocabulary more technical and the argument more subtle, but there is also the difficulty of the dependence of Psychology on Metaphysics. This dependence of all other parts of Philosophy on Metaphysics, arising from the necessity in Philosophy of seeking in all questions the *last* reason ultimately, is perhaps the greatest obstacle in the way of any popular exposition of Philosophy that transcends the mere level of common sense. For Metaphysics is the most difficult of all branches of science—Aristotle describes it as " the most divine Science, the possession of which might be justly regarded as beyond human power " (*Met.* 1, 2)—and it is scarcely amenable to popular exposition.

How necessary, at the same time, some treatment of Psychology is in even the most general course of Philosophy is clear not only from the intrinsic importance of such problems as the spirituality of the soul and the freedom of the will, but also from the immediate dependence of Ethics on Psychology. " Ethics," says Fr. Doolan, " has been defined as a science of conduct . . . . it may be further defined as the science of what a man should do because of what he is " (p. 175). Our whole system of morality depends on the true psychological analysis of human nature. Hence Fr. Doolan rightly devotes more than half of his work to Psychology.

Both in his choice of theses and in the manner of his exposition Fr. Doolan has sought to overcome the difficulties incidental to a popular exposition of Philosophy. His division of the more difficult questions into a number of brief

chapters and these again into sub-sections with special titles is commendable, since a too protracted concentration on any one subject is hardly to be expected from those for whom the work is intended ; and the literary and topical references supply the lighter touch that serves to maintain interest. The book is convenient in size, well printed and reasonable in price. Some printer's errors are noticed on pp. 68 (foot-note), 76, 120 and 140. J. H.

MORE TALKING AT RANDOM. By Douglas Woodruff. London : Burns Oates. 1944. 8s. 6d.

PHILOSOPHY. By C. E. M. Joad. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1944. 3s.

Not the worst but certainly the most exasperating experience of life is to find happenings at variance with the apparently masterly forecasts of our logic. Not only philosophers are victims of this three-card trick of Nature's, but also financiers, men legally proved guilty of crimes they know they did not commit, military correspondents, racing tipsters, every kind of man except the great detectives of fiction. The one common characteristic of these two very different books is that in each of their writers we find a reasonable man striving in vain to explain unreasonable facts. But whereas Dr. Joad is anxiously concerned at the discord between reason and sense, Mr. Woodruff can afford to be merely amused at it, for the important things are already guaranteed to him by his faith—not therefore by a master of logic but by One Who sees. Mr. Woodruff's book is another collection of the delightful paragraphs that appear, two or three at a time, in *The Tablet*. The vast range of subjects is too staggering to be illustrated. But even the most topical are viewed from the standpoint of a cultured historian who is at once conversationalist, stylist, sage, and wit. His wit is generally of the reader-flattering historian's order, which consists in stating a fact in the light of its incongruous relations with other facts and leaving it to be its own comment. By those who wish to fill up a long period the book is best used as a meditation book. But for those who have short periods on their hands and wish to be wise and merry meanwhile, the book is surely one of the world's best. It can be earnestly recommended therefore to business men at their luncheon hour, to dentists for their waiting rooms, to all who keep appointments or wait in queues, to those seeking interviews with members of the Government (at least if the purpose is to subscribe to party funds), and to all who are awaiting execution.

Dr. Joad's book, despite at least one extraordinary excellence, is a little less satisfactory. That excellence is its clarity of style, its almost unique aptitude for making philosophy intelligible to groundlings. Some loss of depth and precision is inevitable (there *is* some excuse for Kant's obscurity), but the book cannot be called either woolly or shallow. It gives advice on the study of philosophy ; treats of its nature, subject-matter, and method ; finally discusses some of its most important topics. These are the reality and nature of the external world, and the general principles of morals and politics. The various opinions of philosophers are lucidly and fairly considered, after which the author suggests his own. His own opinions in this book are generally on the side of whatever angels there be (for he regards angels sceptically) ; he is a realist, or at least of opinion that truth, goodness, and beauty are real in some Platonic sense ; the weight of the evidence inclines him to belief in an absolute law and hence in an Absolute Being, God ; his ideal of the state admittedly contains characteristically Christian elements. His chapter on Plato's philosophy (about a fifth of the whole book) is a masterpiece of insight and exposition.

Yet the book is unsatisfactory just because Dr. Joad has found it impossible to live up to his Platonism. For Plato and Aristotle, to mention no others, insisted that the end of philosophy was knowledge, certainty based on the evident necessity of

a truth. No one was more impatient than Plato of mere opinion. And rightly, for that curiosity that Dr. Joad with much reason claims to be the impulse to philosophise, is a desire of knowledge, not of mere opinion. The busybody is curious because he or she wants to *know* the secrets of others, not merely to have an opinion about them. That is why, when she gets wind of a scandal, she will continue to hunt up evidence for it with the tenacity of an inspector of police. But Dr. Joad's philosophy, despite its admirable tendencies, is almost entirely composed of opinions ; there does not appear to be a single important truth to which his adhesion is not shaky. If this is all that philosophy can do for a man, it cannot achieve its end : it is a failure.

If we look for the cause of this failure in Dr. Joad we shall find it, I think, in another defection from Plato, in his view of the method of philosophy. For him philosophy is nothing but a clearing-house for the sciences. To the philosopher are reported the conclusions reached by the physicist, the biologist, the psychologist, the other scientists, each in his own branch. The philosopher considers these conclusions and coordinates them by fitting them into a frame of general truths, of laws and facts required by the laws, that have universal relevance and application. Now it is clear, in this view, that the conclusions of the sciences are the *premisses* of the philosopher's argument. If these conclusions change, so must the conclusions of philosophy. And it is notorious that they do change and more and more rapidly. How then can the conclusions of philosophy be stable, when its premisses are shifting ? Plato had an extreme, indeed an exaggerated, fear of making sensible knowledge the foundation of his reasoning. Is it modern fashion that has led Dr. Joad to the opposite extreme ? *Amicus Plato, magis amica novitas ?*

Dr. Joad would find a different method if he were to come not only on the side of the angels but of the *Angelicus*. But Thomism, he says, is a " comparative blank " to him and leaves him, he hints, with but a " derisive interest ". Thomists do not require in the philosopher vast knowledge of other sciences so much as good faculties of knowledge. On principle they reason from the fewest, the simplest, the most obvious truths possible. Philosophy for them is simply metaphysics, absolute and applied. One can begin with the notion of being, the object of metaphysics. Doubtless the notion of being is abstracted from an object outside of the mind, but the *fact* of being, of something independent of the mind of which the mind is aware, is immediately evident from the notion. Thence by absolute necessity follow truth, goodness, activity and other notes as necessary aspects of all being, as well the first principles or laws of being. Add a condition, say limitation, and at once many more truths are deducible about *limited* being ; but these are only necessary in *this* being (limited) because as being it already is subject to necessity, to metaphysics ; for instance nothing would be true of limited being if it were not subject to the principle of contradiction. But take a fully determined body, a stone, and we meet the limits of philosophy. We can conclude of it some truths that will be guaranteed by metaphysics, that it is composed of matter and form, transiently active, corruptible, and these are truths of philosophy. But its grey colour, its atomic structure, its subjection to gravitation, and so forth, are not demanded on pain of contradiction by what philosophy establishes of the stone's nature. They are truths of stones not by logical necessity but *de facto*, established not by philosophy but by observation and experiment. St. Thomas reasoned most of his philosophy from the undeniable data of being, multitude, and local motion, the most evident facts of experience. True, the philosopher to perfect his work against attack must show that it is wholly consistent with other established truths, whether of science or revelation. But none of these truths constitute the premisses from which he argues or determine the construction of his system. Thomism is today the great defender of the freedom of philosophy. It is a cause that should appeal to Dr. Joad. A. L.

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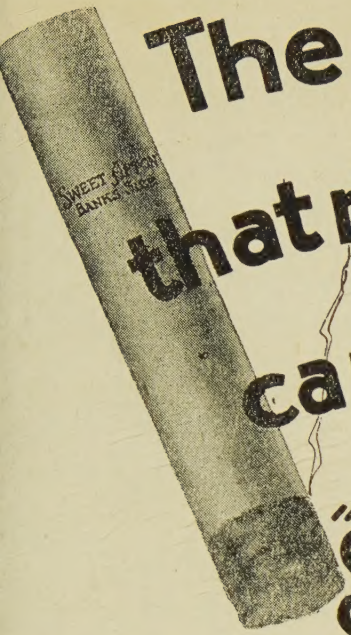

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